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UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA EXTENSION LEAFLETS

LESSON PLANS FOR THE STUDY OF WAR FACTS

BY
I. C. GRIFFIN

WAR INFORMATION SERIES No. 19

PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY

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CHAPEL HILL, N. C.

THE PRICE OF PEACE

Peace without Justice is a low estate—
A coward cringing to an iron Fate!
But Peace through Justice is the great ideal—
We'll pay the price of war to make it real.

HENRY VAN DYKE.

LESSON PLANS FOR TEACHING WAR FACTS I THE GRADES AND HIGH SCHOOLS

FOREWORD

The following outline is the result of a course in history given in the Summer School of the University the past summer. It is an attempt to assemble in a more or less orderly way such information about the war as is available and to arrange it in such a form as to make it immediately usable by teachers in both grammar grades and high schools.

No claim is made for completeness of detail or for fullness of fact. In so brief a compass it has been necessary to omit much. That the outline can be used and taught successfully has been proven through a successful use of it.

The sources of information drawn upon have been: Allen, W. H., *War Fact Tests;* Robinson, J. H., *The Last Decade of European History and the Great War;* Leonard, A. R., *War Addresses of Woodrow Wilson; German War Practices,* Committee on Public Information; *War Information Series,* University of North Carolina Extension Leaflets Nos. 1-20. Information about this source material will be furnished upon application to the Bureau of Extension.

It is suggested that this outline should be used during the history recitation for a period of at least two school months. It might be used for ten or fifteen minutes daily throughout the school year as a general school exercise. The teacher should possess as working material at least all the texts and bulletins mentioned above and as much more as he or she can possibly assemble.

It is further suggested that the teacher require each pupil to keep a note-book of war facts in which should be listed the chief events of the war for 1918 and each year of the war thereafter, month by month. Pupils should be encouraged to read the daily papers, and the teacher should call for daily reports on current events. An outline map should be kept in each room on which should be noted from day to day the progress of battles. Each child might be requested to keep a copy of this map in his note-book.

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THE GREAT WAR

I. Origin.

A. *Militarism in Europe.* Ref., Robinson, pp. 23-25.

1. The defeat of the Prussian Army by Napoleon at Jena. 1806.
   a. Result: The "Nation in Arms" supplements the standing army.
2. Prussia defeats Austria, 1866.
   a. Result: Consolidation of the German states with Prussia at the head.
3. Germany defeats France, 1870-1871.
   a. Result: Alsace and Lorraine are annexed by Germany.
4. Other European nations adopt the Prussian plan of building up an army.
   a. Some exceptions: England. Why? Belgium. Why?
5. England depends on her fleet.
   a. Reasons for this policy.
6. Germany has naval ambitions.
   a. The bill of 1897.

B. *Some National Rivalries.* Ref., Robinson, pp. 27-30.

1. Exploitation of Africa.
   a. France took Tunis in 1881, and Italy joined the Triple Alliance in 1882. Why?
   Note.—Triple Alliance: Germany, Austria, and Italy.
2. The Entente Cordial, 1904—Edward VII.
   a. France recognized England's interests in Egypt. England those of France in Morocco.
   b. England makes treaty with Japan, 1902; Japan joins the Entente Cordial, 1907.
   c. Russia and England agree to restrict their interests in Persia, and Russia joins the Entente Cordial, 1907.
3. Germany suspicious of the "circle of friends."
   a. Attitude of the Kaiser toward his Uncle, Edward VII.
   b. The Kaiser determines to break up the Entente Cordial.
4. Germany opposes France in Morocco.
   a. Result: Germany gains Congo.
   b. The Agidir incident, 1911.

C. *The Balkan Question.*

1. Bosnia and Herzegovina.
   a. The Congress of Berlin, 1878.
   b. Annexation of Bosnia, 1908.
2. Attitude of Serbia toward this annexation.
   a. Why did Russia acquiesce?

3. The War between Italy and Turkey, 1911.
   a. Italy captures Tripoli.
4. The first Balkan War, 1912-1913.
   a. Macedonia the objective.
   b. The quarrel over spoils.
5. The second Balkan War—5 weeks, 1913.
   a. Albania independent.
   b. Serbia's victorious army and the possibility of a Slavic uprising.
   c. Germany's dream of the Berlin-Bagdad railway (Pan-German against Pan-Slav).
6. Feverish military preparations of 1913.
   a. A billion marks voted by Germany for her army.
   b. The Kiel Canal opened.
   c. Russia called in General Joffre to reorganize her armies.
   d. Austria developed her artillery.
   e. England increased her navy.
   f. Belgium adopted universal military training.

II. The Outbreak of the War, 1914.

A. *Last efforts for peace, 1914.*
   1. The treaty that was never signed relative to the Berlin-Bagdad railway, etc.

B. *The murder of the Austrian Archduke, June 28, 1914.*
   1. The Austrian ultimatum, sent July 23, nearly one month after the murder of the Archduke, with forty-eight hours for reply.
      a. Terms:
         (1) To suppress anti-Austrian propaganda.
         (2) To dismiss any civil or army officer obnoxious to Austria.
         (3) To allow Austrian officials to sit in Serbian courts, to try case in question.

      Note.—Look up the other seven.
   2. Serbia agreed to all except one, and urged that this be referred to The Hague.
   3. Austria refused to accept Serbia's proposal.

C. *Germany's attitude toward the Austrian-Serbian conflict.*
   1. Resisted all efforts toward a compromise.
   2. Declared she would aid Austria if attacked by Russia.
   3. Called the Potsdam War Conference, July 22, 1914.

   Ref., Ambassador Morgenthau's articles in *World's Work* for 1918.

D. *Declarations of War, 1914.*

1. Austria against Serbia, July 28th.
2. Germany against Russia, August 1st.
3. Germany against France, August 3d.
   a. On August 2d German troops were marching against France.
4. Germany against Belgium, August 4th.
   a. Germany's ultimatum to Belgium, August 2d, with twelve hours for reply.
5. Germany against England, August 4th.
   a. On August 4th England sent ultimatum to Germany to respect neutrality of Belgium.
   b. Bethmann-Holweg, the German Chancellor, declared the treaty with Belgium a mere "scrap of paper."
6. Montenegro against Germany and Austria, August 7th.
7. Japan against Germany, August 27th.
8. Turkey against Allies, November 3rd.

III. PROGRESS OF THE WAR, 1914-1915.

A. *In France.*

1. The German Army advanced in three divisions:
   a. Through Luxembourg,
   b. Through Belgium,
   c. From Metz to Nancy.
2. The Belgians detained them ten days and saved France.
3. The Battle of the Marne stopped the German advance.
   a. The French Government fled to Bordeaux.
4. Belgium overrun; Antwerp taken, October 10, 1914.
   a. Checked at Yser River.
   b. Treatment of the Belgians.

   Ref., German War Practices.
   c. The burning of Louvain.
5. The French held a small section of German territory.
   NOTE.—American soldiers now in this sector.
6. Trench Warfare.
   a. What it is and adapted from what previous war.

B. *The Eastern Front.*

1. Invasion of Prussia by the Russians.
   a. Hindenburg's army.
2. Surrender of Warsaw, August, 1915.

C. *Germany lost her colonies.*

1. The War in Africa.

D. *Invasion of Mesopotamia.*

1. Affairs in Egypt—Germany, through Turkey, called upon the Mohammedans to declare a "Holy War."

   Ref., Ambassador Morgenthau's articles in *World's Work*, 1918.

E. *The Gallipoli Campaign.*
1. The objective.
2. A great mistake.
Ref., Ambassador Morgenthau's articles in *World's Work*, 1918.

F. *Italy entered the War, May, 1915.*

G. *Germany lost her Commerce.*
1. The submarine.

H. *The Blockade declared by the Allies.*
1. England violated international law by compelling neutral vessels to stop at Kirkwall for inspection.
a. This action due to the German submarine warfare.
2. Germany, February 1, 1915, confiscated all grain for military use.
a. Result: Allies declared all shipments of foodstuffs to Germany would be deemed contraband of war.
3. Germany declared that her submarines would sink all enemy merchant vessels without warning.
4. The Lusitania sunk, May 7, 1915.

I. *Invasion of Serbia, October, 1915.*

J. *Bulgaria joined the Central Powers, October 4, 1915.*

IV. The Campaign of 1916.

A. *The Western Front.*
1. The Battle of Verdun, February 21, 1916.
a. A German defeat. Why?
2. The Battle of the Somme, four months.
a. The use of tanks.

B. *The Italian Front.*
1. The Austrian Army repulsed.
2. The Italians occupied Austrian territory with Trieste as the objective.

C. *Roumania joined the Allies.*
1. Overrun by the Central Powers.
2. Rich stores of oil and grain fell into the hands of the conquerors.

D. *Aerial Warfare.*
1. The use of the airplanes by the armies.
2. The air raids upon London and Paris.

E. *Estimated losses, January 1, 1917.*
1. Five to seven millions killed.
2. A greater number wounded or taken prisoner.

V. EVENTS OF 1917—THE WORLD WAR AGAINST GERMANY.

Ref., War Fact Tests; War Information Series.

A. *America entered the war, April 7, 1917.*

1. America's neutrality for thirty-two months.
   a. Germany lost sympathy by her acts, such as her treatment of the Belgians, destruction of Louvain, ruthless submarine warfare, etc.
   b. German propaganda—Bernstorff *et als.*
   c. President Wilson's attempts to maintain neutrality.

B. *Why we are at war.*

1. Because the Germans first made war on us, and we could not honorably or safely permit war to be waged upon us without going to war ourselves.
   a. In 1915 there were 29 explosions caused by German subjects.
   b. Factories were blown up in order to destroy our industries.
   c. German agents conspired to place on 5 vessels with passengers deadly bombs with time clocks.
   d. Twenty-one different types of crimes were committed by Germans on our soil.
   e. German Ambassador and other officials directed these plots.
2. Because Germany notified us that whenever possible her submarines would destroy on sight without warning any boat found "out of bounds," even if used by our citizens or other neutrals.
   a. "Out of bounds" meant anywhere in the waters around the Allies.
   b. No northern waters were in bounds except a narrow pathway for one boat a week to Falmouth, England, which must be painted in a particular way.
   c. Thus Germany proposed to take away from us the right to travel on the ocean—a right belonging to us by nature and given to us by international law.
   d. Thus Germany withdrew all her promises given President Wilson.
   e. Germany destroyed by submarines 17 American vessels and 23 other vessels on which 226 Americans lost their lives.
   f. Hospital and relief ships had been destroyed by German submarines without warning.

3. Because while we were at peace Germany's foreign minister offered New Mexico, Texas, and Arizona to Mexico if Mexico would attack us.
   a. A similar proposal was made to Japan.
   b. Official proposal was dated January 19, 1917, and published February 28, 1917.
4. Because these direct and threatened attacks showed us that we must take up the fight for the world's sake and for democracy's sake.
   Ref., President Wilson's address.
5. Because atrocities unheard of in civilized nations were not only committed by the Germans, but defended by them on the ground of alleged "military necessity."
   Ref., German War Practices.
6. Because a passion for freedom had seized our people.
   a. We felt for Belgium and Serbia and Russia as the French felt for us in 1776.
   b. We could not enjoy prosperity and freedom while Europe was bleeding and suffering.

C. *Our Peace Aims.*
1. The four principles of peace as stated by President Wilson to Congress, February 11, 1918:
   a. That all final settlements must be based upon essential justice in each;
   b. That people and provinces must not be bartered to maintain the balance of power;
   c. That all territorial settlement must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the population concerned;
   d. That all well-defined national aspirations be satisfied without introducing any new or perpetuating any old elements of discord that would break the peace of Europe.
2. The fourteen specific demands listed by President Wilson:
   a. Open covenants of peace without private international understandings;
   b. Absolute freedom of seas in peace or war, except as they may be closed by international action;
   c. Removal of all economic barriers and the establishment of equality of trade conditions;
   d. Guarantees for the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety;
   e. Impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, giving equal weight to the interests of the *people* concerned as well as to the interests of the governments concerned;

f. Evacuation of all Russian territory and opportunity for Russia's political development;

g. Evacuation of Belgium without any attempt to limit her sovereignty;

h. Readjustment of Italy's frontier along clearly recognized lines of nationality;

i. Freest opportunity for autonomous development of the peoples of Austria-Hungary;

j. Evacuation of Roumania, Serbia, and Montenegro, with access to the sea for Serbia;

k. Secure sovereignty for Turkey's portion of the Ottoman Empire, with the Dardanelles open to all nations, and autonomy for all people under Turkish rule;

l. An independent Poland;

m. General Association of Nations to guarantee territorial integrity to large and small states alike.

D. *The Russian Revolution.*

1. The abdication of the Czar, March 15, 1917.
2. Kerensky as dictator, July-October.
3. The victory of the Bolsheviki.
   a. Lenine and Trotsky.
   b. The treaty with the Germans at Brest-Litovsk.

E. *The Teutonic drive against Italy.*

1. French and English troops sent to aid Italy.

VI. WAR FACTS.

A. *Preparation for War in United States.*

1. The army and the navy numbered 320,000 on April 6, 1917:
   a. Army, 202,500,
   b. Navy, 117,500.
2. The Draft Law and its provisions.*
   a. All men over 21 and not 31 required to register.
   b. On June 5, 1917, 10,000,000 registered.
   c. On July 4, 1918, 1,100,000 men in France.
3. Training camps.
   NOTE.—Locate and name the principal ones.
4. Within 80 days after declaration of War, General Pershing had landed in France.
5. $640,000,000 voted for aircraft.
6. 1,000 ships ordered built.
   a. 89 ships launched on July 4, 1918.
7. 109 interned German vessels seized and put into service.

*Refers to the first Draft Law. Present draft regulations should be studied.

B. *The Food Administration.*
1. Herbert E. Hoover, Administrator.
2. Food Regulations:
   a. Price of wheat,
   b. Wheatless days,
   c. Increased production,
   d. Conservation of sugar, meats, and fats,
   e. Amount shipped to Allies.

C. *The Fuel Administration.*
1. Dr. Garfield, Administrator.
2. Fuel production and conservation.
   a. Amount of coal mined annually, about 590,000,000 tons; amount consumed, about 650,000,000 tons.
   b. Price of coal fixed by Government.
   c. Regulations for distribution.
   d. "Tag the Shovel" day in schools.
   e. Suggestions for conserving coal.

D. *The Committee on Public Information.*
1. George Creel, chairman.
2. The news censorship.
3. Free bulletins issued.

E. *Government Control of railways and telegraph lines.*
1. Secretary McAdoo, Director General of the Railways.
2. Postmaster General Burleson, Director of Telegraph and Telephone Lines.

NOTE.—Other organizations should be studied if the teacher has the time.

VII. COUNTRIES AT WAR AT THE OPENING OF 1918.

A. *The Allies.* Ref., Report of War Department in the Fall of 1917; Robinson, pp. 5-8.

Country	Date of Entrance	Population	Armed Men
Serbia	July 28, 1914	4,550,000	300,000
Russia	Aug. 1, 1914	175,000,000	9,000,000
France	Aug. 3, 1914	87,500,000	6,000,000
Belgium	Aug. 4, 1914	22,500,000	300,000
British Empire	Aug. 4, 1914	440,000,000	5,000,000
Montenegro	Aug. 7, 1914	516,000	40,000
Japan	Aug. 23, 1914	74,000,000	1,400,000
Italy	May 22, 1915	37,000,000	3,000,000
San Marino	June 2, 1915	12,000	1,000
Portugal	Mar. 10, 1916	15,000,000	200,000
Roumania	Aug. 27, 1916	7,500,000	320,000
United States	April 6, 1917	113,000,000	1,000,000
Cuba	April 8, 1917	2,500,000	11,000
Panama	April 9, 1917	427,000	
Greece	July 6, 1917	5,000,000	300,000
Siam	July 22, 1917	8,150,000	36,000
Liberia	Aug. 7, 1917	1,800,000	400
China	Aug. 14, 1917	320,000,000	540,000
Brazil	Oct. 26, 1917	25,000,000	25,000
Countries, 19—Totals		1,339,455,000	27,473,000

B. *Central Powers at Opening of War, 1914.*

Austria-Hungary	July 28	50,000,000	3,000,000
Germany	Aug. 1	80,000,000	7,000,000
Turkey	Nov. 3	21,000,000	300,000
Bulgaria	Oct. 4 (1915)	5,000,000	300,000
Countries, 4—Totals		156,000,000	10,600,000

VIII. STUDY OF LOCAL WAR FACTS.*

A. *The State War Council.*

1. How appointed.
2. Duties.
3. Members at present time.

B. *State Council of Defense.*

1. Name the members.
2. See report for year.

*The data for this entire topic and for Topic IX should be collected by the pupils and teacher.

C. *State Fuel Administrator.*

D. *State Food Administrator.*

E. *Number men registered on June 5, 1917; on June 5, 1918; on September 12, 1918.*

F. *Number sent to training camps.*

IX. STUDY OF HOME-TOWN AND HOME-COUNTY WAR FACTS.

A. *Men not subject to draft.***

1. Under 21 and over 31,
2. Physically weak, ill health,
3. Necessary to support children or parent,
4. Engaged in some occupation more necessary than Government service,
5. Ministers and divinity students,
6. Conscientious objectors belonging to some organization prior to May 18, 1917.

B. *Local Board of Exemption.*

1. Chairmen.
2. Other members.
3. All cases appealed to District Board.

C. *Number of men of draft age.*

1. No. volunteers: white,..; colored,... Total,..
2. No. already called: white,..; colored,... Total,..
3. No. thus far exempted: white,..; colored,... Total,..
4. No. remaining subject to call: white,..; colored,... Total,..
5. No. already gone to Europe: white,..; colored,... Total,..
6. No. all told in Army: white,..; colored,... Total,..
7. No. all told in Navy: white,..; colored,... Total,..
8. No. officers: white,..; colored,... Total,..

D. *Money raised for war purposes.*

	Amount allotted	Purpose	Amount Raised
1.	$.....	1st Liberty Loan.....	$.....
2.	$.....	2d Liberty Loan.....	$.....
3.	$.....	3rd Liberty Loan.....	$.....
4.	$.....	4th Liberty Loan.....	$.....
5.	$.....	War Savings Stamps...	$.....
6.	$.....	1st Red Cross Drive...	$.....
7.	$.....	2d Red Cross Drive....	$.....
8.	$.....	1st Y. M. C. A. Drive...	$.....

**Changes in these regulations under present Draft Law should be studied.

E. *Organizations.*

1. County Council of Defense.
   a. ....., Chairman for County.
   b. Name other members.
   c. Name chairmen and members for your township.
2. Red Cross.
   a. What it does.
   b. Number of members.
   c. Officers.
3. County Fuel Administrator.
   a. Amount of coal consumed in your town.
4. County Food Administrator.
   a. Rules and regulations for the use of cereals, sugar, meats, and fats.

F. *School Activities.*

1. Amount of money invested in War Savings Stamps, $.....
2. Number pupils who belong to War Savings Societies, ...
3. Amount invested in Red Cross, $.....
4. Amount invested in Y. M. C. A. War Work, $.....
5. Number pupils belonging to Junior Red Cross Association, ...
6. List here all other war activities:

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UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

EXTENSION LEAFLETS

A SYLLABUS FOR THE WAR ISSUES COURSE

(FIRST QUARTER)

ON THE

HISTORICAL AND ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF THE WAR

WAR INFORMATION SERIES NO. 20

Copyright, 1918
By
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EXTENSION LEAFLETS

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THE BUREAU OF EXTENSION
CHAPEL HILL, N. C.

FOREWORD

The following syllabus is designed primarily for the use of members of the Students' Army Training Corps at the University of North Carolina in their study of War Issues. It will be employed during the quarter of twelve weeks devoted to the Historical and Economic Background of the War. The course, in the purpose of the committee which compiled this syllabus, calls for a minimum of twenty lectures; and the plan of instruction provides for one hour each week to be set apart for open discussion between instructor and students respecting the subject matter already covered or concerning any pertinent issue or problem of the war. Within such bounds, it is desired that the student should feel the utmost freedom to ask questions; and it is hoped that the discussion will be spontaneous and informal.

As printed, the outline contains more material than can be treated in the class room within the time limits of the course. Such material was included in order that the syllabus might become a guide for independent study and reading. Each of the sections, of course, might be considerably enlarged; but, with a definite problem always in mind, the selections were made to the end that the student should be directed to information and interpretation on which to found a body of enlightened opinion about the fundamental causes and the most important issues of the present war.

Students will be required to provide themselves individually with a copy of Hazen's *Modern European History* (Holt & Company) and with the *War Cyclopedia* (The Committee on Public Information). Lectures following the outlines of the syllabus and recitations based upon assigned readings will constitute the class work. In addition, students will be required to submit written reports on topics suggested by the instructor. To meet these requirements, the lists of readings have been printed as—Reference and Suggested readings, the former being designed to provide information for class purposes, the latter being prepared for the student who wishes to make a deeper study of some aspect of the subject or who has a paper to write and who, therefore, requires additional material. For the con-

servation of space and paper, it has been found convenient to employ the following symbols or abbreviations in these lists:

Hazen for C. D. Hazen, *Modern European History.*

Hayes for C. J. H. Hayes, *A Political and Social History of Modern Europe.*

R. & B. for J. H. Robinson and C. A. Beard, *The Development of Modern Europe.*

W. C. for the *War Cyclopedia.*

Rose, *Development* for J. H. Rose, *The Development of European Nations.*

Rose, *Origins* for J. H. Rose, *Origins of the War.*

F. & P. for N. Foerster and W. W. Pierson, *American Ideals.*

The committee desires to acknowledge their indebtedness to the *Topical Outline of the War* prepared by Professor Samuel B. Harding with the co-operation of the National Board for Historical Service and the Committee on Public Information.

The Committee on the War Issues Course.

Chapel Hill, N. C., October, 1918.

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III. The Idea of a League of Nations for Peace.

A Syllabus for the War Issues Course

on the

Historical and Economic Background of the War

(First Quarter)

A. Historical Background.

I. Democracy and the French Revolution:

1. *Characteristics of the Old Regime:*
   Absolutism and bureaucracy, feudalism, serfdom, inequalities and privileges, arbitrary imprisonment, censorship of press and speech, friction between Church and State.

2. *Political, Economic, Intellectual, and Social Causes of the French Revolution:*
   a. Political: Confusion and inefficiency in government; outworn political system.
   b. Economic: Financial difficulties and inequalities of taxation; embarrassment due to participation in the American Revolution.
   c. Intellectual: Influence of English political theorists, especially Locke; the reforming group in France, Voltaire, Montesquieu, Rousseau, and the Encyclopedists; influence of criticism in France.
   d. Social: The classes; rise of the bourgeoisie; awakening of class consciousness; part played in the revolution by the clergy, nobility, bourgeoisie, and the proletariat.

3. *Achievements of the French Revolution:*
   a. Destruction of feudalism and serfdom.
   b. Declaration of the Rights of Man.
   c. Reform of local administration.
   d. Reform of taxation.
   e. Nationalization of property of the Church and emigrant nobles; beginnings of peasant proprietorship.
   f. Subordination of Church to State.

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i. Reform in education.
j. Abolition of negro slavery and imprisonment for debt.
k. Miscellaneous reforms.

4. *Liberty, Equality and Fraternity.*
5. *Communication of Revolutionary Ideals to the World.*
6. *General Significance of the Revolution; its Continuity in the Political Life of Europe.*

REFERENCE READINGS: Hazen, I, 4-150; R. & B., I, 224-282; Hayes, I, 393-576.
SUGGESTED READINGS: Shailer Mathews, *The French Revolution.*

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   b. Preceding condition—domestic system.
   c. Rapidity and degree of change.
2. *Causes of origin in England:*
   a. Greater freedom than on the continent.
   b. Natural advantages:—coal, iron, water power and climate.
   c. Inclosure movement.
   d. Stimulus to industry and commerce from the extension of colonial domain.
   e. "England, the work-shop of the world" during the Napoleonic Wars.
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   a. Mechanical (note their inter-relation):
      (1) Textiles:
         Kay's "Fly-shuttle" 1738.
         James Hargreave's "Spinning Jenny" 1770.
         R. Arkwright's water frame 1769.
         S. Crompton's "Spinning mule" 1779.
         Edmund Cartwright's power loom 1785.
         Eli Whitney's cotton gin 1792.

(2) Steam engine:
Newcomen's engine 1702.
James Watt's successful engine 1769.
Application of steam power to pumping, machinery, water transportation, land transportation, printing.

(3) Improvements in production of iron, steel, and coal.

(4) Development of canals.

(5) Electricity:
Telegraph 1832.
Telephone 1876.
Wireless 1895.

(6) Aeroplane and submarine.

b. Development of the factory—concentration of processes and workmen in large buildings.

c. Agricultural improvements,—rotation of crops,—beginnings of scientific farming.

4. *Effects of the Revolution:*

a. Economic:

(1) Division of labor and stimulus to invention.

(2) Expansion of industry and commerce.

(3) Broader markets, hence danger of maladjustment, with panics and unemployment.

(4) Growth of cities; concentration of allied industries.

(5) Increase of wealth and tendency to concentration in the hands of a few.

(6) Capitalism and the factory system.

b. Social:

(1) Increase in population and concentration in urban centers.

(2) Higher standards of living for middle and upper classes; dependence and poverty for laborers.

(3) Monotony of work and long hours.

(4) Cottages and gardens replaced by tenements and slums; disappearance of yeomanry.

(5) Personal relation between employer and employee gives place to "cash nexus."

(6) Woman and child labor, and weakening of family unity.

(7) New divisions of society and growing class consciousness and friction:

(a) Capitalist or Bourgeoisie
- Promoters
- Investors
- Administrators
- Bankers
- Merchants
- Professional men

(b) Wage earners or Proletariat

c. Political:

(1) Paternalism and Mercantilism succumb to *laissez faire* and doctrine of natural liberty; Adam Smith, the French philosophers, "economic laws," Declaration of Independence.

(2) Union of capitalists by means of the corporation.

(3) Prohibition of workingmen's organizations; the Chartist Movement.

(4) Spread of Industrial Revolution and triumph of bourgeoisie:
England 1832-1846.
France 1825-1848.
German 1834-1848.
United States 1865-1890.

(5) Rise of Socialism; individual viewpoint begins to give place to the social; Robert Owen, Fourier, Louis Blanc, Karl Marx.

(6) Relation of Industrial Revolution to democracy: common interests and growing intelligence of the laboring class.

(7) Relation of the Industrial Revolution to National Imperialism;

(a) Demand by manufacturers for sources of raw materials and markets for surplus products.

(b) Demand by investors for field for investment and exploitation, and protection of investments.

(8) Relation of the Industrial Revolution to Internationalism:

(a) Territorial division of labor and economic interdependence of nations.

(b) Interest of capitalists in protecting foreign investments.

(c) International labor class sympathy.

5. *Conclusion:*

a. A continuing process: "The New Industrial Revolution."

b. Class struggles and bitterness raises question of reform in the economic system: socialism, syndicalism, labor copartnership, industrial democracy.

c. Social consciousness and group responsibility replacing *laissez faire:* government regulation, humanitarian legislation, social insurance.

REFERENCE READINGS: R. & B., II, 30-52, 312-331; Hayes, II, 67-116, 547-556; Cross, *History of England and Greater Britain,* 783-793.

SUGGESTED READINGS: Ogg, *Economic Development of Modern Europe,* ch. 70; Hobson, *Evolution of Modern Capitalism,* Chaps. 1, 5, 16, 17; Gibbins, *Industry in England,* chaps. 20-26; Cambridge, *Modern* History, X, chap. 28.

III. THE CONCERT OF EUROPE:

1. *The Congress of Vienna and the Changes in the Map of Europe.*

a. Failure of the boundary lines established to accord with national feeling.

2. *Diplomacy and the "Balance of Power" Theory at Vienna:*

a. The game of diplomacy; the undemocratic and secret character of the negotiations.

b. Diplomatic precedence.

c. The aims of the powers.

d. History of the balance of power theory and its chief exponents.

3. *The Holy Alliance—Origin, Members, Purposes, Results.*
4. *The Concert of Europe, Origin, Members, Purposes, Results.*
5. *The Congresses of the Powers: Aix-la-Chapelle (1818), Troppau (1820), Laibach (1821), Verona (1822).*
6. *The Metternich System and the Doctrine of Intervention; Instances of Application, Success and Failure.*
7. *The Doctrine of Non-Intervention—The Monroe Doctrine.*
8. *The Case of Greece and Belgium.*
9. *The Concert of Europe and the International Idea.*
10. *Doctrine of Intervention weakened by growth of democracy:*
    a. British and French Attitude.
    b. The "July Revolution" of 1830.
    c. The Reform Bill of 1832 in Great Britain.

REFERENCE READINGS: Hazen, 249-269; R. & B., I, 343-362; II, 21-28; Hayes, II, 1-28, 41-57.
SUGGESTED READINGS: Phillips, *Modern Europe,* 1815-1899.

IV. NATIONALISM AND DEMOCRACY.

1. *The National State.*
2. *Elements of Nationalism—Similarities in Race, Language, Religion, Customs, Habits and Traditions.*
3. *The European Nation at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century.*
4. *Stimulation of the National Spirit by the Napoleonic Wars and Policies.*
5. *The Right of Nationality: "People speaking the same language and sharing the same general customs should be nationally unified under a single political system."*—C. J. H. HAYES.
6. *Liberal Support of Nationalism.*
7. *Liberal National Movements in Greece, Belgium and Poland.*
8. *Achievement of National Unity with Democracy in Italy:*
    a. "Young Italy" and the work of Mazzini.
    b. Revolution of 1848.
    c. Work of Cavour, Victor Emmanuel and Garibaldi.

d. The part of France.
e. The Wars of Unification.

9. *The Pan-Slavic Congress of 1848.*
10. *Nationalism in the United States.*

REFERENCE READINGS: Hazen, 271-288, 298-312; R. & B., 11, 1-21 53-107 303-307; Hayes, I, 1-25; II, 65-69, 116-144, 163-175.

SUGGESTED READINGS: Ramsay Muir, *Nationalism and Internationalism;* F. & P., *American Ideals,* 15-55; Rose, *Nationality in Modern History;* Toynbee, *Nationality and the War;* Zangwill, *The Principle of Nationalities.*

V. NATIONALISM AND ABSOLUTISM:

1. *Nationalism and Autocracy; Varying Policies of Absolutist Governments.*

2. *Nationalism in the Germanies:*
   a. The distribution of races.
   b. Development and growth of the nationalist movement: its liberal and illiberal aspects; its economic aspects: the influence of the Zollverein and the Industrial Revolution.
   c. Nationalist tendencies in the North centripetal; in the South centrifugal.
   d. Repression of the nationalist movement by Metternich.
   e. The revolutions of 1848.
   f. The Congress of Frankfort and the failure of the Nationalists to win democracy.

3. *The Establishment of the German Empire:*
   a. Rise of Prussia.
   b. Parties and government in Prussia in 1850.
   c. Adoption of nationalistic program by Bismarck and his followers; nationalism and absolutism vs. nationalism and constitutional reform.
   d. The work of Bismarck, William I, von Roon and von Moltke; military reform and the "taming" of the democracy; the "blood and iron" policy.
   e. The Schleswig-Holstein affair.
   f. The war with Austria, 1866.
   g. The North German Confederation.

h. The war with France and the formation of the German Empire.

4. *The Treaty of Frankfort; the Alsace-Lorraine Question.*
   a. Status of Alsace-Lorraine in the German Empire.
5. *Bismarck and Europe—the Isolation of France.*
6. *The Revolution of 1848 in Austria and Its Failure.*
7. *Nationalism in Austria-Hungary after 1866.*
8. *Comparison of the Differences between the Imperial Nationalism of Germany and that of Austria-Hungary.*

REFERENCE READINGS: Hazen, 341-366; R. & B., II, 109-134; Hayes, II, 180-206.

SUGGESTED READINGS: Davis, *The Roots of the War;* Holt and Chilton, *Modern Europe, 1862-1914,* 9-184; Rose, *Origins of the War.*

B. Contemporary Foundation of World Politics, 1878-1914.

I. European Politics, 1878-1891:

1. *The Congress of Berlin, 1878.*
2. *Bismarck's Diplomatic Policies.*
3. *The German Alliance with Austria-Hungary, 1879.*
4. *The French Republic; the Growth of Democracy.*
5. *The "Splendid Isolation" of Great Britain; Gladstone and Disraeli; Subsequent Growth of Democracy:*
   a. The diplomatic history of Great Britain, 1878-1902.
   b. Growth of democracy; the Reform Bills of 1867 and 1884.
   c. British social politics.
   d. The Parliament Reform Bill, 1911.
   e. Woman suffrage.
   f. Irish Home Rule.
6. *Occupation of Tunis by France, 1881; Alienation of Italy.*
7. *The Triple Alliance, 1882.*
8. *Relations of Russia and Germany, 1878-1891.*

Reference Readings: Hazen, 366-405; R. & B., II, 103, 129, 311; Hayes, II, 397-435, 513-514.

Suggested Readings: Rose, *Development of the European Nations;* Davis, *The Roots of the War.*

II. The Triple Entente:

1. *Threats of Germany Against France.*
2. *The France-Russian Alliance; Political and Economic.*
3. *Relations of France and Great Britain:*
   a. Northern Africa.
   b. The Fashoda Incident.
   c. The agreement of 1899.
   d. The French and English as "Hereditary Enemies."
   e. The work of Edward VII, Delcasse and Lansdowne.
   f. The *Entente Cordiale.*
4. *The Anglo-Japanese Alliance.*

5. *The Russo-Japanese War and Its Influences Upon European Diplomacy.*
6. *Germany's Effort to Isolate Great Britain, 1904-1905.*
7. *Formation of the Anglo-Russian Entente.*
   a. The influence of France.
   b. Partition of Persia.
   c. The work of Sir Edward Grey; the English "encircling" movement.
8. *The Anglo-French Military and Naval Agreement of 1912.*

REFERENCE READINGS: Hazen, 374-396, 407-408, 580-584, 614; R. & B., II, 450-452; Hayes, II, 421-423; 472-474; 567-568, 583-585, 624, 694-703; Rose, *Development,* II, 1-43, 320-350.

III. MODERN IMPERIALISM.

1. *The Old Colonial System.*
2. *Colonial Possessions of European Nations in 1880.*
3. *Causes of Modern Imperialism:*
   a. Necessity for the provision of a place for surplus population.
   b. The desire for prestige; appeal of imperialism to patriotism.
   c. The desire to convert non-Christian peoples; protection of missionaries under imperial control.
   d. The economic argument: The result of the industrial revolution and the perfection of machinery enables a nation ordinarily to produce more than it can consume; so capitalists, statesmen, and diplomats are constantly on the lookout for opportunities to acquire political control of under-developed territories which may provide markets for the surplus manufactured commodities and rich fields for the investment of surplus capital. Such areas will furnish raw materials for the manufacturing country. All of such results, it is argued, are most perfectly and permanently effected when imperial dominion is established over the under-developed region.
4. *Relation of imperialism to democracy, nationalism, and militarism.*

5. *The Partition of Africa.*
6. *Expansion of Europe in the Orient.*
7. *Expansion of Europe in Australasia.*
8. *The British Empire:*
   a. Its growth and extent.
   b. The types of colonies.
   c. The government of the empire.
9. *The imperial systems of France and Germany.*
10. *Arguments for and against Imperialism.*

REFERENCE READINGS: Hazen, 487-514; R. & B., II, 233-260, 318-372; Hayes, II, 545-675.

SUGGESTED READINGS: Seeley, *The Expansion of England;* Skrine, *The Expansion of Russia;* Rohrbach, *German World Policies.*

IV. THE NEAR EASTERN QUESTION:

1. *Distribution of Races in the Balkans.*
2. *The Decline of Turkey.*
3. *The Religious Problem.*
4. *National Aspirations of the Balkan Peoples.*
5. *The strategic and commercial importance of the Balkan and Turkish Territory.*
6. *Achievement of nationality in the Near East; the Congress of Berlin.*
7. *Rival claims and ambitions of the Great Powers.*
8. *Germany and Turkey:*
   a. The Bagdad Railroad.
   b. The Mittel-Europa scheme.
9. *The revolutions of 1908 in Bulgaria and Turkey; the absorption by Austria-Hungary of Bosnia and Herzegovina.*
10. *The Tripolitan and Balkans Wars, 1911-1913.*
11. *General significance of the question in European politics.*

REFERENCE READINGS: Hazen, 540-557, 590-606; R. & B., II, 309-317; 453-458; Hayes, II, 490-539; President Wilson's Flag Day Address; *War Cyclopedia,* under "Mittel-Europa," "Balkan Problem."

SUGGESTED READINGS: Cheradame, *The Pan-German Plot Unmasked;* Lewin, *The German Road to the East;* Seton-Watson, *The Rise of Nationality in the Balkans;* Davis, *The Roots of the War; Conquest and Kultur,* 52-67.

V. Militarism and the International Crises before 1914:

1. *Definition of Militarism.*
2. *Relation of Militarism to European Politics.*
3. *Militarism in Europe:*
   a. Autocratic militarism — Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia.
   b. Democratic militarism of France, Italy, Switzerland.
4. *Competition in armaments; Europe as an "armed camp."*
5. *Rivalry in naval preparation:*
   a. British naval policy.
   b. German naval policy.
   c. Navalism.
6. *Attempts to limit armaments; the Hague Conferences.*
7. *Developments of the laws of war.*
8. *The diplomatic crises of 1905, 1908, 1911.*

Reference Readings: Hazen, 590-592; R. & B., II, 367-369, 445, 451-2, 486-8; Hayes, II, 182-6, 196-8, 221, 335-6, 405-6, 422-3, 688-691, 720; *Conquest and Kultur,* 29-47, 112-117; W. C., "Militarism," "Prussianism," "Zabern"; Altschul, *German Militarism and its German Critics.*

C. The War.

I. The German-Austrian Plot:

1. *The militarist agitation in Germany; political thought; Weltpolitik.*
2. *The profits derived from past wars.*
3. *The idea of a German mission in the world; Kultur; desire for "a place in the sun."*
4. *Pan-Germanism.*
5. *The proposal to attack Servia in 1913.*
6. *Extraordinary military preparation in the Central Empires:*
   a. The secret military report of Mar. 19, 1913.
   b. The interview of Kaiser Wilhelm II with King Albert of Belgium, November, 1913.
   c. The army laws of 1911, 1912, 1913; the Kiel Canal.
   d. The recall of reservists.
   e. Preparations for stirring up revolts in the British Empire.
   f. Preparations of Austria-Hungary.
7. *Construction of strategic railroads, some leading to the Belgian frontier.*
8. *The forces in Germany which made for war.*

Reference Readings: Hazen, 608-609; Hayes, 709-710; R. & B., II, 460; W. C., under "Austria and Servia, 1913," "Pan-Germanism," "Sinn Fein," "Pan-Germans Urge War in 1913," "Junker," "Militarism or Disarmament"; *Conquest and Kultur,* Secs. 11, 15, 16; Naumann, *Central Europe;* Collected Diplomatic Documents, 130-133, 401.

Suggested Readings: Bernhardi, *Germany and the Next War;* Rohrbach, *Germany's Isolation;* Munroe Smith, *Militarism and Statecraft;* Treitsche, *Politics.*

II. The Outbreak of the War; Failure of Diplomacy to Maintain Peace.

1. *Relations of Austria-Hungary and Servia.*
2. *The assassination of Francis Ferdinand and his wife at Sarajevo, June 28th, 1914.*
3. *The Potsdam Conference, July 5th.*

4. *Diplomatic exchanges between June 28th and July 23rd.*
5. *The Russian interest in Servia; contemporary Pan-Slavism and its aspirations.*
6. *The Austrian note to Servia, July 23rd.*
7. *The Servian reply; most of the terms accepted; proposes reference to the Hague Tribunal or to the Great Powers in case reply considered unsatisfactory.*
8. *Efforts of the Powers to prevent war.*
9. *Austria-Hungary declares war on Servia, July 28th; Opportuneness of the "Sarajevo incident" for Austrian and German purposes.*
10. *Russia takes the part of Servia.*
11. *The German ultimatums to Russia and France.*
12. *Germany declares war on Russia and France.*
13. *Conclusions as to the responsibility for precipitating the war.*

REFERENCE READINGS: Hazen, 609-613; Hayes, II, 710-716; R. & B., II, W. C., under "Arbitration, German Attitude," "Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes," "Pan Slavism," "Sarajevo," "Potsdam Conference," "Serbia, Austrian Ultimatum"; Collected Diplomatic Documents, 490-494.

SUGGESTED READINGS: Gibbons, *The New Map of Europe,* 368-385; Davis, *The Roots of the War;* Stowell, *The Diplomacy of the War of 1914;* Seymour, *The Diplomatic Background of the War.*

III. THE VIOLATION OF BELGIUM'S NEUTRALITY.

1. *The treaties protecting and guaranteeing Belgium's neutrality; the signatories.*
2. *The strategic importance of Belgium.*
3. *British interest in Belgium's neutrality; the French guarantee to respect it.*
4. *German preparations to invade Belgium, thus gaining easier access to France.*
5. *The German note to Belgium of August 2d.*
6. *The Belgian Reply.*
7. *The German invasion and the attempted justification; "military necessity"; the neutrality treaty as a "scrap of paper."*

8. *The treatment of Belgium and its influence upon world opinion.*
9. *Violation of the neutrality of Luxemburg.*

REFERENCE READINGS: Hazen, 616-618; Hayes, II, 715; R. & B., II, 458-462; W. C., under "Grey and the British Policy, 1914," "Belgium, Neutralization of," "Belgium, Violation of," "Belgium, Woe of," "Belgium, Deportations," "Luxemburg," "Bethman-Hollweg," "Scrap of paper."

SUGGESTED READINGS: Davis, *The Roots of the War;* Anon., *I Accuse;* Waxweiler, *Belgium, Neutral and Loyal;* Mokvoeld, *The German Fury in Belgium;* Seymour, *The Diplomatic Background of the War.*

IV. THE SPREAD OF THE WAR AND ITS DIPLOMATIC DEVELOPMENTS:

1. *The German effort to keep Great Britain out of the war.*
2. *Great Britain enters the war:*
   a. Reasons for entrance.
   b. War aims.
   c. The support of Great Britain in the war by the empire; the part of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, etc.
3. *Montenegro (Aug. 7th) and Japan (Aug. 23rd) declare war.*
4. *The unneutral acts of Turkey; political parties in Turkey; the Allies declare war (November 3-5th).*
5. *Italy enters the war (declaration against Austria-Hungary, May 23rd, 1915; against Germany, Aug. 27th, 1916).*
   a. Reasons for withdrawing from the Triple Alliance.
   b. War aims.
6. *Bulgaria enters the war on the side of Germany; King Constantine of Greece refuses to fulfil his treaty with Servia.*
7. *Portugal (March 9th, 1916) and Roumania (Aug. 28th, 1916) declare war.*
8. *The Allies agree to make no separate peace.*
9. *The world-wide character and importance of the war.*
10. *Diplomatic agreements respecting the treatment of prisoners.*
11. *Agreements between Allies respecting international trade.*

REFERENCE READINGS: Hazen, 614-618; Hayes, II, 714-717; R. & B., II, 458-472; W. C., under "War, Declarations of," "Italia Irredenta"; New York *Times Current History,* 1917.
SUGGESTED READINGS: Simonds, *History of the Great War.*

V. THE CHARACTER OF THE WAR:

1. *Innovations in warfare.*
2. *German violation of the laws of war in land warfare:*
   a. Bombardment of unfortified cities.
   b. Use of gas, liquid fire, poison, and disease germs.
   c. Treatment of prisoners.
   d. Treatment of civilians and conquered territory.
   e. Destruction of private property.
   f. Illegal war indemnities.
   g. Destruction of historic works of art.
3. *Violation of international law in air warfare.*
4. *The blockades and mine fields:*
   a. The British mine field and blockade.
   b. The German war zones.
   c. Effects on neutral trade and opinion.
5. *The submarine as an instrument of blockade:*
   a. The belligerent right of visit and search.
   b. The right of travel in war time.
   c. Laws protecting personal safety on merchant vessels in time of war.
   d. New conditions of naval warfare caused by the submarine.
   e. The sinking of merchant vessels without warning.
   f. The sinking of the *Lusitania* and its effect upon world opinion.
6. *The Turkish massacres and transplantation of population in Armenia.*
7. *The German war code.*
8. *German allegations against Russia and other allied countries; allied reprisals.*
9. *Analysis of German war psychology.*

READINGS: Scott and Garner, *The German War Code;* Munro, *German War Policies;—German Treatment of Conquered Territory;* Bland, *Germany's Violations of the Laws of War;* W. C., under "Forbidden

Methods of Warfare," "Kriegs-Raison," "Hostages," "Noncombatants," "Pillage," "Family Honor and the Rights of Property," "Contributions," "Belgium, Economic Destruction," "Requisitions," "Aviation," "Submarines," "Lusitania," "Blockade," "British Blockade," "Bombardment," "Armenian Massacres," "Atrocities," "Cavell, Edith," "Liebknecht on German War Policy."

VI. THE UNITED STATES AS A NEUTRAL:

1. *Precedents for American neutrality.*
2. *Declaration of Neutrality, Aug. 4, 1914.*
3. *American attitude toward the violation of Belgium's neutrality.*
4. *The conflict of opinion in the United States respecting the war.*
5. *Controversies with Great Britain arising from the British Blockade.*
6. *The munitions controversy with Germany; Germany alleges the United States to be unneutral if it supplies the Allies with munitions.*
7. *German propaganda in the United States; plots against munition plants; intrigues in Latin America.*
8. *Controversy with Germany respecting the use of the submarine; the agreement.*
9. *President Wilson's peace notes; championship of a league of nations for peace.*
10. *Germany, contrary to pledge, proclaims unrestricted submarine warfare; the United States rejects the "barred zone" plan.*
11. *Severance of diplomatic relations between the United States and Germany; the armed neutrality plan.*
12. *President Wilson's second inaugural address; Americanism.*
13. *General summary: How the war came to the United States.*

READINGS: *How the War Came to America;* Robinson and West, *The Foreign Policy of Woodrow Wilson;* Cheradame, *The United States and Pangermania;* Fess, *The Problems of Neutrality when the World is at War;* Sperry and West, *German Plots and Intrigues;* W. C., under "United States, Neutrality," "Neutral Rights," "Embargo, British," "Mails, British Interference with," "War Zone, British,"

"War Zone, German," "Freedom of the Seas, German View," "Monroe Doctrine, German Attitude," "Submarine Warfare, Stages of," "Passports, German Frauds," "Pan-Americanism," "Zimmerman Note."

VII. THE UNITED STATES IN THE WAR:

1. *The War Message of President Wilson.*
2. *The distinction between the German government and the German people.*
3. *Declaration of war against Austria-Hungary (Dec. 7th, 1917).*
4. *Reasons for war against Central Empires:*
   a. The German Government's decision to wage unrestricted submarine warfare.
   b. The accumulated German outrages against humanity.
   c. German autocracy made democracy unsafe in the world; the menace of Kaiserism.
   d. The political, social, cultural, and economic ties between nations in modern life rendered no longer possible the further observance of the policy of isolation.
   e. The menace to the safety of the United States and Latin America in the German territorial ambitions.
   f. The freedom of small nations and peace between the Great Powers possible only in the destruction of autocracy and militarism.
5. *The military policy of the United States:*
   a. The selective draft law.
   b. Preparations for: Finance, munitions, transportation, food conservation, shipbuilding.
   c. Non-combatant service.
6. *The United States and Russia:*
   a. The Russian Revolution of 1917.
   b. Sympathy for Russia in the United States; American mission to Russia.
   c. German intrigues in Russia; their apparent success.
   d. Rise of the Bolsheviki; their seizure of power.
   e. The Czecho-Slovaks in Russia and Siberia.
   f. Peace with Germany; Russian dissolution.
   g. Declaration of war against Allies.
   h. Influence of Russia on the war.

7. *The United States and Latin America:*
   a. Latin American countries in the war: Cuba, Panama, Brazil, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica.
   b. German Plots in Mexico and Argentina.
   c. Latin-American countries break diplomatic relations with Germany: Santo Domingo, Haiti, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Uruguay.
   d. Potential aid of Latin America to the Allies.
8. *The Unification of the Allied Command.*
9. *The United States Army in Europe.*
10. *The work of the United States Navy.*

READINGS: The War Message; F. & P., American Ideals, 242-253, 175-178; Rogers, *America's Case Against Germany;* Osborne, *America at War; The Nation in Arms;* Greene, *American Interest in Popular Government Abroad;* W. C., under "United States, Break with Germany," "Aim of the United States," "Balance of Power," "Kaiserism," "German Government, Bankruptcy of," "Russian Revolution of 1917," "Bolsheviki," "Lenine," "Trotzky," "Kerensky," "America Threatened," "Mexico, German Intrigues in," "Spurlos Versenkt," "Latin America, German Aims in," "United States, Isolation of."

D. The Conditions of Peace.

I. The War Aims of the Central Powers; the War Aims and Peace Terms of Great Britain, France and Italy:

1. *General summary of the war purposes of Germany.*
2. *The Teutonic peace notes and proposals:*
   a. Note of Dec. 12, 1916: "Less an offer of peace than a war manœuvre."
   b. The Allies' reply.
   c. Speech of von Bethmann-Hollweg, July 14, 1917.
   d. The Brest-Litovsk negotiation and peace.
   e. The treatment of Ukraine and Roumania.
   f. Baron Burian's peace proposal for Austria-Hungary, September, 1918.
3. *The Pope's appeals for peace:*
   a. The first appeal, Aug., 1915.
   b. The second appeal, Aug., 1917.
   c. Reply of President Wilson.
   d. The reply of Germany, September, 1917.
4. *The war aims and peace terms of Great Britain:*
   a. Early expression of war purposes; Asquith.
   b. Speech of Lloyd-George, Jan. 5, 1918.
   c. Replies of Count Czernin and Chancellor von Hertling.
5. *The war aims of France and Italy:*
   a. Why the present boundary lines are unsatisfactory.
   b. The question of Alsace-Lorraine.
   c. The question of the Trentino.
6. *The case of Belgium and the small nations.*
7. *The administrative difficulties in applying the principle of nationality.*

Readings: Mach, *What Germany Wants;* W. C., under "Mittel-Europa"; Munroe Smith, *German Land Hunger;* Lloyd-George, *British War Aims;* Bainville, *Italy and the War;* Hazen, *Alsace-Lorraine under German Rule.*

II. The Peace Conditions of the United States:

1. *The peace terms of the War Message.*
2. *The statement of terms in the reply to the Pope.*

3. *President Wilson's proposals of Jan. 8 and Feb. 11, 1918:*

"What we demand in this war . . . is nothing peculiar to ourselves. It is that the world be made fit and safe to live in; and particularly that it be made safe for every peace loving nation which, like our own, wishes to live its own life, determine its own institutions, be assured of justice and fair dealing by the other people of the world as against force and selfish aggression. All the peoples of the world are, in effect, partners in this interest, and for our own part we see very clearly that unless justice be done to others it will not be done to us. The program of the world's peace, therefore, is our program; and that program, the only possible program, as we see it, is this:

"I. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

"II. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

"III. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.

"IV. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

"V. A free, open-minded and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the Government whose title is to be determined.

"VI. The evacuation of all Russian territory, and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as

will secure the best and freest co-operation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy, and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.

"VII. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored, without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve as this will serve to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.

"VIII. All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored; and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted, in order that peace once more be made secure in the interest of all.

"IX. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

"X. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safe-guarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.

"XI. Roumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea; and the relations of the several Balkan States to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically estab-

lished lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guaranties of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan States should be entered into.

"XII. The Turkish portion of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guaranties.

"XIII. An independent Polish State should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

"XIV. A general association of nations must be formed, under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guaranties of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike."

On Feb. 11 the President made this further statement:

"The principles to be applied are these:

"First, that each part of the final settlement must be based upon the essential justice of that particular case and upon such adjustments as are most likely to bring a peace that will be permanent;

"Second, that peoples and provinces are not to be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were mere chattels and pawns in a game, even the great game, now forever discredited, of the balance of power; but that

"Third, every territorial settlement involved in this war must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the populations concerned and not as a part of any mere adjustment or compromise of claims amongst rival States; and

"Fourth, that all well-defined national aspirations shall be accorded the utmost satisfaction that can be accorded them without introducing new or perpetuating old elements of discord and antagonism that would be likely in time to break the peace of Europe and consequently of the world" (*War, Labor, and Peace,* p. 38).

On September 27, 1918, President Wilson declared the issues of the war to be:

"Shall the military power of any nation or group of nations be suffered to determine the fortunes of peoples over whom they have no right to rule except the right of force?

"Shall peoples be ruled and dominated, even in their own internal affairs, by arbitrary and irresponsible force or by their own will and choice?

"Shall there be a common standard of right and privilege for all peoples and nations or shall the strong do as they will and the weak suffer without redress?

"Shall the assertion of right be haphazard and by casual alliance or shall there be a common concert to oblige the observance of common rights?"

At the same time he announced the following terms and conditions of peace:

"First, the impartial justice meted out must involve no discrimination between those to whom we wish to be just and those to whom we do not wish to be just. It must be a justice that plays no favorites and knows no standard but the equal rights of the several peoples concerned.

"Second, no special or separate interest of any single nation or any group of nations can be made the basis of any part of the settlement which is not consistent with the common interests of all.

"Third, there can be no leagues or alliances or special covenants or understandings within the general and common family of the league of nations.

"Fourth, and more specifically, there can be no special, selfish combinations, within the league and no employment of any form of economic boycott or exclusion except as the power of economic penalty by exclusion from the markets of the world may be vested in the league of nations itself as a means of discipline and control.

"Fifth, all international agreements and treaties of every kind must be made known, in their entirety to the rest of the world."

4. *Reply to the Austrian proposal of September, 1918.*
5. *Democracy and Peace.*

READINGS: President Wilson's Speech in the Senate, Jan. 22, 1917; The War Message; The Reply to the Pope; Bryce, *The War of Democracy;* Seton-Watson and others, *The War and Democracy; War, Labor, and Peace.*

III. THE IDEA OF A LEAGUE OF NATIONS FOR PEACE:

1. *Enforcement of peace in history.*
2. *Unofficial proposals for a league of nations; the American League to Enforce Peace.*
3. *Endorsement of the idea by President Wilson.*
4. *Will this be the last great war?*
5. *Spread of the idea; endorsement of the idea by the Allied governments.*
6. *Teutonic attitude toward the league of nations.*
7. *The dominant thought: the end of war.*
8. *The "moral equivalent for war."*
9. *The triumph of the Allies; a league of nations; and the peace of the world.*

READINGS: Hayes, II, 679-691; F. & P., 207-242; Cosmos, *The Basis of a Durable Peace;* Fayle, *The Great Settlement;* Headlam, *The Issue;* Seton-Watson and others, *War and Democracy;* W. C., under "League to Enforce Peace," "Permanent Peace"; Herron, *Woodrow Wilson and the World's Peace.*

VOL. II—No. 3 NOVEMBER, 1918

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA EXTENSION LEAFLETS

EXTENSION COURSES AND LECTURES

1918-1919

WAR INFORMATION SERIES No. 21

PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY

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CHAPEL HILL, N. C.

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THE BUREAU OF EXTENSION
CHAPEL HILL, N. C.

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

BUREAU OF EXTENSION

Extension Lectures for North Carolina Communities

Announcement

For several years the University has conducted a lecture bureau for the purpose of aiding schools and other organizations in obtaining speakers to discuss with them the problems incident to their daily activities and to interest them in those things which look to the upbuilding of the State and the cultivation of the finer things of the spirit. Since the entry of our Nation into the world war the University has conceived it to be its duty to give special prominence to such phases of its work as will afford guidance in the popular solution of the great problems which confront our democracy at the present time. To this end it offers, in addition to its usual program, a number of more extended lecture-courses dealing with the causes and aspects of the war, and with some of the great questions—political, economic, and social—of the immediate future.

Organization for Lectures

In continuation of the policy of the past three years, these courses, in whole or in part, or individual lectures on miscellaneous topics, will be furnished wherever there is a demand for them, whatever the size of the community.

Teachers' institutes, chambers of commerce, boards of trade, women's clubs, Y. M. C. A. centers, farmers' conventions and meetings, school boards, study clubs, and other organizations can arrange for lectures by applying for them. The University is prepared also to extend its resources of instruction, wherever practicable, to other educational institutions. Addresses for special occasions, such as school and college commencements, will be supplied upon application, as the need arises.

The University has purchased several sets of lantern slides showing America's part in the great war, and will send them out to schools and other organizations, in charge of a University officer to lecture on them.

Community Centers

While attaching much importance to such coöperation with individual organizations as is outlined above, the University is looking

with still deeper interest to the establishment of direct educational relations with larger community organizations formed by a combination of all the units of democracy and embracing representatives of every class and interest. The war has made us realize as never before the imperative need of communal organizations for constructive public service, and they are rapidly being formed throughout the country. The University will gladly coöperate with any community desiring to organize a community center, or with such centers where they already exist, and will endeavor to make them efficient forces for the transmission of University influence and for the promotion of the common good. The possibilities inherent in such a plan were illustrated last year in Winston-Salem, where the University's educational machinery was successfully directed toward the inspiration and enlightenment of a large group of men and women banded together for service under the leadership of certain public-spirited citizens. Details of the Winston-Salem plan and other suggestions for putting such an arrangement into operation will be furnished by the Extension Department, and the free services of a University officer may be secured, where desirable, for the purpose of organization in any community in the state.

Application and Terms

Applications for lectures should be addressed to James H. Hanford, Chairman of the Committee on Lecture-Study, Chapel Hill, N. C. Since the lecturers are members of the faculty and are not able to leave the University at all times, the application should contain a first and second choice of lecturer, subject, and date,

The traveling and incidental expenses of the lecturer are borne by the organization for which the lecture is made. In the case of illustrated lectures, there may be an additional expense for the operator of the lantern if an operator is not supplied locally.

In order that the best results may be secured from these lectures, it is suggested that a series of three at least be provided for whenever possible, and that a regular schedule for them at intervals of a month or some other convenient period of time be arranged.

It is also suggested, if a single organization or community is unable to meet the entire expense of such a series, that it combine with a neighboring organization or community and thereby reduce the expense, as the lecturer could speak at two or possibly three neighboring places on the same trip. This can be done provided a central committee arranges all the details as to schedules and sees that the speaker can fill the dates without too great difficulty.

It is requested that the expenses incurred in filling appointments be met by the organization at the conclusion of the lecture.

LECTURE COURSES

I. WAR ISSUES: full courses.

The lectures in this series embody the substance of the course which has been instituted by the Government this year for practically all students now attending college in America under the Students' Army Training Corps regulations. The aim of the course as outlined by the Government Committee on Education and Special Training is to present the fundamental issues of the war through a specially adapted study of the history, institutions, and ideals of the various warring nations. The three groups of lectures cover, respectively, the historical and economic background of the war, the institutions and societies of the central powers and the allies, and their contrasting national ideals as expressed in philosophy and literature. Each of these groups constitutes a unit, and any one of them may be taken separately. Certain lectures in this series may also be given independently.

The syllabus in use at the University will be available, and will provide materials for a detailed study of the subject for any individual or groups which may wish to make it. The lectures will, however, be intelligible without any parallel study. Arrangements may, upon application, be made for the securing of University credit through study and examination in connection with the course.

GROUP A. *Historical and Economic Background.*

1. What is Democracy?
2. Nationalism in Modern History.
3. Imperialism and Militarism as Issues in the War.
4. The War of Nations.
5. Why We Fight.
6. The War to End Wars.

GROUP B. *Social and Political Institutions in the Warring Nations.*

1. Government and Society in Germany.
2. Great Britain and the British Empire.
3. The French Republic and What it Stands for.
4. The Government of Austria-Hungary.
5. Administrative Problems in the Organization of a League of Nations.
6. The Problem of the Nation in a League of Nations.

GROUP C. *National Ideals in Literature and Philosophy.*

1. German Philosophy in its Relation to the War.
2. Nationalism and Democracy in English Literature:
   (*a*) From Shakespeare to Milton.

3. Nationalism and Democracy in English Literature:
   (*b*) The period of Revolution.
4. Nationalism and Democracy in English Literature:
   (*c*) The Nineteenth Century.
5. American Ideals in American Literature.
6. The Literature of the War.

II. ASPECTS OF THE WAR.

The following lectures cover much the same ground as those in the preceding course, but in less detail, and with less of necessary interrelation. They may be taken separately or in any combination which is desired. Communities following the program of study outlined for the North Carolina Federation of Women's Clubs will find any of the lectures in the group of interest in connection with their work. For topics not represented here, lectures may be chosen from the list given under I, or III.

1. The Menace of Prussian Ambitions.
2. The Crime Against Belgium.
3. France, the Champion of Democracy in Europe.
4. Contemporary France.
5. France and the Alsace-Lorraine Question.
6. Transformation in Russia.
7. The Reunion of English-Speaking Peoples.
8. America at War.
9. Women War Workers.
10. American Women and War Issues.

(NOTE.—Subjects 3, 4, and 5 may be condensed into one or two lectures; 9 and 10 may also be given as one. For related lectures which may be substituted for, or added to any of the above, see "Miscellaneous Lectures.")

III. PROBLEMS OF DEMOCRACY.

The following groups of lectures deal with some of the great present and future problems of our national life, and attempt to interpret the meaning of the new democracy which is in process of formation as a result of the war. When taken as a whole, the series is cumulative in effect passing from questions of material adjustment to those of social and spiritual reorganization, but each group and each lecture constitutes an independent unit, and they may be taken singly or in any desired combination.

GROUP A. *Economic Problems and the War.*
A series of lectures by Professor D. D. CARROLL.

1. War Finance in a Democracy.
2. Control of Industry in War-Time.

3. Democracy in Industry.
4. Readjustment After the War.

Group B. *The South After the War.*

A Series of Lectures by Professor E. C. Branson.

1. Town and Country.
2. County Welfare, Civic and Social.
3. After the-War Agriculture in the South.
4. Industrial Expansion in the South After the War.
5. A Three-Story Civilization: Machine Efficiency, Human Efficiency, Spiritual Values.

Group C. *The Social Program of Democracy.*

A Series of Lectures by Professor L. A. Williams.

1. A Broadening Conception of Democracy.
2. Teaching Democracy in the Schools.
3. The Program of Americanization.

Group D. *Prophets of the New Democracy.*

A Series of Lectures by Professor Edwin Greenlaw.

1. Ibsen: Man and the Devil of Compromise.
2. Tolstoy: Man and His Fellows.
3. Kropotkin: Man and Democratic Institutions.
4. Rolland: Man Himself.
5. Wells: The Great Adventure.

Group E. *The Drama and Democracy.*

A Series of Lectures by Professor F. H. Koch.

1. The Theater and the People.
2. The Early English Folk Drama.
3. Shakespeare and the People.
4. The Community Drama (Illustrated.)

MISCELLANEOUS LECTURES

JOHN MANNING BOOKER, Ph.D., Associate Professor of English.

1. Kultur and Civilization: a presentation of the essential ideals of German Kultur and of the civilization of the Entente as these ideals have come into conflict with each other in the present war. (May be given as one or two lectures.)
2. The Fiction-making mind. (Illustrative readings.)
3. The Irish Plays. (Illustrative readings.)
4. The Dramatic Monologue. (Illustrations from Tennyson and Browning.)

EUGENE CUNNINGHAM BRANSON, A.M., Professor of Rural Economics and Sociology.

1. Robert E. Lee—Gentleman.
2. Robert E. Lee—Christian.
3. Come, Let Us Live With Our Children.
4. Town and Country Dependencies.
5. The Local Market Problem.
6. Our Landless, Homeless Multitude.
7. Twin-Born Social Menaces.
8. After the War: Opportunities and Dangers.
9. A Three-Story Civilization in North Carolina. (A Sunday Church Address.)

DUDLEY D. CARROLL, Professor of Economics.

1. Economy and Victory, or "From Breakfast to Berlin."
2. Industrial Mobilization.
3. Democracy and Its Implications.
4. "The Danger of Being Safe."
5. Education for Business, or The University and the Business Man.
   (Lectures 4 and 5 are prepared primarily for Chambers of Commerce, Merchants' Associations, and Business Men's Clubs.)
6. Industrial Surveys: What and Why?
7. Work and Worship.
8. "The Thirteenth Commandment."
9. The Dimensions of Life.
   (Lectures 7, 8, 9 are especially adapted for Y. M. C. A., Church, or Sunday School use.)
10. Economic Problems and the War.
    (A Series of four lectures, any one of which may be taken separately. See under *Lecture Courses III, Group A.*)

Collier Cobb, A.M., Sc.D., Professor of Geology and Mineralogy.

1. Latin America: a series of five lectures. (Illustrated.)
   a. The West Indies.
   b. The Carribean Lands.
   c. The Andean Countries.
   d. The River Plata Countries.
   e. Brazil.
   (This series may be condensed into two lectures: *a.* "Down the West Coast of South America"; *b.* "The East Coast of South America.")
2. France: The Land in the Making of the People. (Illustrated.)
3. Beautiful Italy, Mother of Civilization. (Illustrated.)
4. Great Britain. (Illustrated.)

Edwin Greenlaw, Professor of English Literature.

1. The Meaning of Democracy.
2. Prophets of the New Democracy. (A series of six lectures. See under *Lecture Courses III, Group D.*)

Frederick H. Koch, Professor of Dramatic Literature.

1. Shakespeare To-day. (A series of six lectures, illustrated by readings of scenes from The Plays). Any one of these lectures may be given separately.
   a. The Pageant of Shakespeare in "A Midsummer Night's Dream."
   b. The Heart of Youth, in "Romeo and Juliet."
   c. Comedy and the Woman, in "The Taming of the Shrew."
   d. The Tragic World in "Hamlet."
   e. Illustrations of Shakespeare (illustrated with slides). Reproduction of the famous Boydell paintings.
   f. Making a New Shakespeare (illustrated with slides).
2. Dickens' "A Christmas Carol" (reading).
3. Readings from War Poetry.
4. The Drama and Democracy. (A series of four lectures. See *Lecture Courses III, Group E.*)

John W. Lasley, Jr., Assistant Professor of Mathematics.

1. The Mathematics of Everyday Life.
2. Some Modern Methods of Calculation.

George McFarland McKie, A.M., Associate Professor of Public Speaking.

1. Readings from Kipling.
2. Readings from Tennyson and Browning.
3. Readings from Modern American Humorists.

4. Readings from Shaw's "Arms and the Man."
5. Readings from O. Henry.
6. War Readings: "The Man Who Stayed at Home."
7. War Readings: Miscellaneous.

Marcus Cicero Stephens Noble, Professor of Pedagogy.

1. Scotland and Its Schools.
2. Community Progress.
3. The Making of a Good School.
4. The Teaching of County Geography.
5. The Influence of Geography on North Carolina History.
6. The School Committee and the Schools.
7. School Management, the Teacher, the Pupil, and the Parent.
8. Commencement Addresses.

Andrew Henry Patterson, A.M., Professor of Physics.

1. The Manufacture of War Munitions. (Illustrated.)

Nathan Wilson Walker, A.B., Professor of Secondary Education.

1. The School and the Community.
2. Democracy and Education After the World War.
3. Our Country High Schools. (Illustrated.)
4. Our Farm-Life Schools. (Illustrated.)
5. Community Civics.
6. The High School Pupil and the Capital He Has to Invest.
7. The Pupil, the Curriculum, and the Teacher.
8. Commencement Addresses.
9. Modern School Buildings. (Illustrated.)

Lester Alonzo Williams, Pd.D., Professor of School Administration.

1. Facts and Figures in Education.
2. The School and the Community.
3. James Whitcomb Riley, the Child's Poet.
4. Work, Play, Drudgery.
5. Schoolroom Wastes and How to Prevent Them.
6. The Farm-Life School—Its Place in the Community.
7. Bringing the War Into the Schools.
8. Our Prussianized School System.
9. The Social Program of Democracy.

(A series of three lectures. See under *Lecture Courses III, Group C.*)

"ILLUSTRATED LECTURES ON AMERICA AT WAR"

These lectures, given by a University officer upon application, will be found to be especially useful in the work of schools, clubs, and Y. M. C. A's, and in the special campaigns in connection with the war. When several applications are received from one district, circuits will be arranged whereby the expense for any one organization will be greatly reduced. The use of a local lantern and operator will be found most satisfactory, but the lecturer can if necessary supply and operate his own machine.

1. The Call to Arms—with 58 slides.
2. Trenches and Trench Warfare—with 73 slides.
3. Airplanes and How They Are Made—with 61 slides.
4. Flying For America—with 54 slides.
5. The American Navy—with 51 slides.
6. The Navy at Work—with 36 slides.
7. Building a Bridge of Ships—with 63 slides.
8. Transporting the Army to France—with 63 slides.

Vol. II, No. 4 December, 1918

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA EXTENSION LEAFLETS

THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY AND THE NEW NATIONALISM

By EDWARD KIDDER GRAHAM, D.C.L., LL.D
Late President of the University of North Carolina

(Reprinted from the Johns Hopkins University *Circular,* July, 1918)

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Vol. II, No. 4. *The American University and the New Nationalism.* Free.

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THE BUREAU OF EXTENSION
CHAPEL HILL, N. C.

THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY AND THE NEW NATIONALISM*

A Cambridge graduate, at the front, in a letter to one of the Masters, writes "Don't trouble to say anything about the war. I know all that is to be said about that; let me hear what, if anything, is happening at Cambridge; that the old place is there, at all events."

Something of this feeling of its not being necessary to say anything about the war, we are coming to share. With a growing consciousness of the size of the concrete task to be performed, and the finding of our effective place in intelligent action, talk becomes trivial, and prophecy as to what must come in the way of reconstruction almost disloyal to the immediate imperative. We have been forced to grasp the grim fact that, when poison gas and shrapnel take the place of sweetness and light, the chief end of men who would glorify God is to kill Germans—and no explanatory footnotes required.

And yet what, if anything, is to be told about the "happenings at Cambridge" must be told in terms of war, and of the effect that this supreme fact in present and future human experience is having on all institutions that truly interpret life to living men; at all events if the old places are still to be *there* in any more vital sense than as a precious reminiscence. So my theme today of the relation of the war to American institutions of higher learning is inevitable, and, just now, so important and fundamental that I can only wish a voice more authoritative than mine might say what we are all coming to feel. For, far from the present emergency being a period of academic suspense, when the actual business in hand must be left to what are known as "practical men," the acutely clear thing is that the supreme opportunity of the American university inheres in the fact that it is, more than any other, in its nature, the institution to answer the nation's present need.

*An address to have been delivered at the Commencement of Johns Hopkins University in June, 1918, and published in the Johns Hopkins University *Circular* for July, but not delivered on account of President Graham's illness.

The directly practical response of the college to the need of the nation in the past year of the war was immediate and convincing. Its undergraduates and young alumni showed an instant and instinctive readiness to volunteer for any service, and a capacity for specialized service, as officers and otherwise, that was nowhere else available. The fact that the number of students in American colleges this year is 68,000 less than it was last, shows only to a limited degree the whole-hearted spirit with which college students answered the first war call for the raw material of man-power. The only limit to their readiness to enlist for direct service was the desire of the Government that they continue their college training as long as possible.

In this the Government has wisely recognized the fact that the college has a higher utility than furnishing physical man-power. Modern warfare has made terribly clear the unique service of the college in multiplying the physical power of a man through giving him a mastery of organized applied knowledge. A nation's fighting force, if its does not have behind it the power of the sciences, for which the college is the training camp, is as impotent as a cave man's club against a Browning gun. The modern battle front is truly seen as organized, mobilized ideas in action. Behind each individual man is the miraculous wealth of power that all of the sciences, through their upgrowth in the past century, have been able to discover, co-ordinate, and utilize in tools and machines of construction and destruction. Physics, chemistry, medicine, engineering,—the whole range of the pure and applied sciences,—are the epic heroes in a war that summarizes the life interests of over a billion people. It is this vast mass of human beings, brought into ever closer and closer relationships through science, and it is the infinite momentum of the power of their mobilized ideas, that speaks in battles for which history furnishes no parallel. At Verdun, the French alone used 6,000,000 shells, containing 1,800,000 tons of steel.

The business of living and fighting was simpler in the days when David, representing the easy freedom of his pastoral tribe,—with his scrip and staff, and with his sling and "five smooth stones"—faced Goliath of Gath across the valley of Elah. The difference between the individual prowess of those ancient warriors and the individual physical prowess of the

men who faced each other at the Marne, is not great. The progress of the civilization that stretches between is in the ideas that men have been able to subdue to their use in the conquest of the hidden forces of earth and sea and sky, and in the mastery of the growingly tense and difficult enterprise of living together. The college, in this essential field of organized ideas, peculiarly its own, through its laboratories and lecture rooms, its investigators and teachers, its expert service, its specially trained graduates, has been suddenly and almost sensationally discovered by the war to be the central agency of civilization.

But there is a far deeper and more inspiring revelation that has come to the college as a social institution in the service of the nation for the mobilization of material and men through ideas, than is represented by the stars in its service flag and by its organized and applied science. There is a mobilization deeper than materials and machines, on which all vital organization depends,—"Strength and direction of the convictions of men—formulated as loyalties—furnish the decisive motive power of a nation's energies." The living spring, the soul, of vital mobilization, is what, in our commonplace war vocabulary, we call *morale*. When young David went out to fight for the civilization of Israel, it was not merely on his sling and those "five smooth pebbles" that he relied. What made that improvised weapon and that beautiful young strength of his sufficient for the task was that in his mind and heart was the co-ordinate faith of his people. Men and material and applied ideas are not separate parts of an assembled machine that can merely *do* something; they are functional parts of a living organism that also *believes* something. "Thou comest to me," said young David to Goliath, "with a sword and with a shield, and I come to thee in the name of the Lord of hosts, and the God of the armies of Israel."

In the midst of the first impact of the necessity for accomplishing a task too colossal in its practical nature quickly to grasp, what has come to the nation as a whole during the past twelve months is this greatest human experience: As it summoned its powers to *do* something, it discovered that it *believes* something,—a faith sufficient for the task. As the country gradually caught the rhythm of its marching men,—following

the bitter, silent period of national hesitation,—unified from the apparent racial, industrial, spiritual confusion of a Kitchener's mob, its first experience was an exhilarating, even thrilling, sense of power released in decision. And then, in the silent fashion of deep and simple things, came the conviction that this power has its source in the fellowship of an invincible national faith. This is the message that one hears from the man on the street, and in the smoking-car and store and factory, as well as from the pulpit and press and campus. America has a faith, as a nation, she means to interpret in terms of a better sort of living for men.

What has happened to the nation, as it has come (or is now coming) to itself, is not unlike what we of the colleges saw happen to our young college men when they left the campus for the military training camps. They left us restless irresponsibles whose miscellaneous inactivities had been our despair, and after three months they came back, and we were happily astonished to find them new men,—mobilized, physically and mentally, into *whole* men of almost super-accomplishment through the inspiration of a new clear purpose that shone through confident eyes. To them "there was a new sort of health and utility; of things desperately moving and interesting, and the wonderful surprise of finding themselves equal to any thing." Life had broken through the old traps of fixed conventions and habits; and for the privileges and comforts to be given up there was a glad abundant faith for the hazards of the open road.

Maurice Barrès, of the French Academy, properly considers this new spirit of youthful faith, liberated through the war, important enough to appraise, and prints a collection of letters from young Frenchmen, who died in battle:—"Our sacrifices will be sweet," writes one of nineteen years, "if there should be more light for the souls of men; if truth shall come forth more radiant and better beloved."—"Loyalty, love, liberty, honor, these," writes another, "are to me no meaningless phrases. They ring like a bugle in my young heart, and when the moment comes I shall make the supreme sacrifice."—"I believe in Beauty, Youth, in Life. I believe in God, in France, in Victory!" Letters from American youth, and young Englishmen and Canadians, are not in this exalted key, naturally lack-

ing the radiant French passion for nationalism; but the same reality of freshly discovered faith is there, however suppressed. "This is hellish business, first and last," writes one; "I would not be anywhere else for the world."—"Sometimes the thought of why we are learning these things strikes me like a blow in the face, and it is hard to realize that they must have a place in the building up of the world. Knowledge of how to kill is not pleasant, but must result in clearing up the ground for the great temple that is to come."—"My eyes are opened to the fact that I am a part of the biggest thing that ever happened in human experience. I gladly give up all my personal ambitions to contribute to the great result." It is not a question, here, of argument, excitement, or even conscious duty or honor. It is something stronger and finer,—a passion for that citizenship in the world that is sportsmanship in the large, and humanity in the largest sense, that instead of growing dim and faint in long peace and prosperity seems to have the freshness and spontaniety of elemental life itself. Yesterday, these were meaningless phrases to a cynical world that in slavery to its habitual conventions had learned the price-tags of everything, and had half-forgotten its standard of human values; to-day, they ring like a bugle call to the young heart of the world, certified as the living faith of men who willingly die for them as the only realities. This is the instinctive spirit of our youth and of the young nation, and the faith of our youngest graduate will re-discover to our most ancient foundation the truth that its supreme function is vitally to interpret the indomitable impulse of men to be master of all good things that their work and skill have produced, in order to be free,—physically, mentally and spiritually; and to make "meaningless phrases" meaningful in the real business of living together as a whole and wholesome organism.

This impulse is the foundation of "the great temple to come," to the building of which the war task has summoned the nation. It is to be evolved under a stress as difficult as the war itself and in the midst of the apparently conflicting and complex actualities of daily affairs. The war has laid the practical basis for the realization of this national faith by opening the way for a more vital unity in the whole life of the nation. The Revolution, the War of 1812, the Civil War, the Spanish-Am-

erican War, each made its contribution toward a closer and larger federation of the units of the American State; but they were mainly steps in a territorial unity,—a superficial integration. The nation had not unified into its life the bone and sinew of its material life. The whole body of the activities by which its people lived and produced the wealth of the nation—its *business,* as the necessary product of science, invention and work applied to the country's infinite resources as it grew in power and federated in larger units of power and service, instead of developing as a part of the nation's government, helped by it, and co-operating with it, was placed in the curious situation of being its enemy. It had within it the drive of reality that requires expression, and, in the full freedom it enjoyed, developed a power equal to that of the government. The masterful men whose creative genius for construction the great adventure of modern commerce and industry had developed, appeared somewhat paradoxically as the victims of an unpatriotic, self-centered materialism. The practical necessity of war mobilization has integrated business into the whole life of the nation, and in the simplest and most direct fashion revealed to it and to business itself its deeper relations to the life of the whole, and also its innately co-operative spirit. Its affairs are thus given a new and valid unity that will never be lost. Hundred thousand dollar men of business who work for the nation for one dollar a year will never again hold superfluous wealth in exclusive esteem; and business that gives itself in devotion to saving the nation for humanity will be far more open to humane ideals; the constructive genius that sought satisfaction in the productive organization of big business will not fail to get a fresh vision of the larger whole for which that organization exists, and by which its creation is made possible.

That this fuller unity precipitated by the war emergency has paved the way for a more effective mobilization of democracy in its steadily progressive effort to transmute "a society not yet humanized" into a society that wields its knowledge and its industrial power in behalf of a democratic culture, is the common thought of the nation. The new nationalism finds its faith in the fact that science has made a fresh interpretation of democracy possible through a new access of productive power

that it has liberated, by relieving human labor, and vastly multiplied its results. Vital forces have found a new and inspiring expression, and will give current form to the eternal topic of civilization; the whole free man seeking a clear path to merit of whatever kind in the environment of his daily affairs.

It is to leadership in this world adventure of the nation that the American university is called,—not as an institutionalized formula, but as the mobile organism for interpreting the actual forces that constitute our present national life in terms of a freer and more complete humanism. This has always been the real university function. The ancient universities owed their origin to this deepest instinct, and wherever and whenever the university has been vital, it has been because it has been vividly conscious of that supreme function.

Jefferson with prophetic vision saw implicit in the new nation a new civilization, and for the realizing of that the need of a characteristic institution. He drew up the plan for a university that would not only embody in its curriculum the traditional culture values of Europe, but, as he said, "would harmonize and promote the interests of agriculture, manufacture and commerce." The evolution of the American university has been the record of the fulfilling of Jefferson's foresight. It has paralleled the development of the nation.

To the older types that seek to express man's inner life and his relations to the past, it added those that express his outer life and his relation to the present. It seeks to reassert for present civilization what past civilization says to America, together with what America has to say for itself. Through its colleges of liberal arts, pure and applied science, professional and technical schools, it repeats the culture messages of the past century: Arnold's message of sweetness and light, Huxley's message of the spirit of inquiry, and Carlyle's message of the spirit of work. But in this grouping of the college of culture, the college of research, and the college of vocation into an organization of efficient and specialized parts it has remained compartmental. It has not sufficiently focussed its whole purpose for its own students to be clearly conscious what it is, or indeed for them to be assured that it has one. And yet it is altogether clear that it cannot realize its present supreme op-

portunity and obligation of interpreting America until it mobilizes its own complete life.

This thought of a whole, unified purpose does not carry with it the criticism that the university has been too devoted to specialized abstractions, nor that there should not be a variety of interests within the whole. On the contrary, it takes for granted the infinite value of the development of pure science, for instance, and the fact that the life of modern learning depends absolutely upon it. It does mean to give emphasis to the forgotten commonplace that the university as an intelligent purpose organism must know what, as a whole, it and the society of which it is a part are driving at; and as an American university that it must interpret as pointedly as possible the forces that stir the soul of the nation. Full acceptance for this or that study or group of studies depends on its interpreting them in spirit and method in terms of the university's deepest intent,—just as a business interprets one of its departments; and the university cannot exert its own full function unless it is able to digest and interpret the whole in terms of its whole conviction and insight.

The curriculum of the college,—the medium for expressing its purpose,—represents the historic effort of civilization to create a whole free man, and it might be expected that no student could go through the mill of it and escape getting a convincing picture of what that means as the present college sees it. But this ideal of the successful life is far less clear and less convincing to the average student (naturally docile, curious and sympathetic as he is) after four years of college residence, than the ideal presented by business success in spite of its grotesque exaggerations. The severest judgment that can be made against an institution is that made several years ago by President Pritchett against the American college, when he described it as an organization where success in the things for which it stands no longer appeals to those within it. The difficulty is that the whole thing for which it stands is no longer clear to itself, in the radiant clearness of its focussed insight. For all of its brilliant achievements, and its devoted individual service, it has not come into the transforming conviction of its organic mission of reconciling in creative works of art and science and government

the new idealism of material America. That the message of the college and university appears to the student, not as an interpretation of the whole life that he craves, but as detached and somewhat eccentric posturing, is due to the fact that its compartments are short-circuited,—the non-conducting mediums for its larger ideas. Indeed the vital objectives of the university are rarely if ever considered by the group faculties, or by the faculty as a whole. Occasionally in an opening address to freshmen they get summary consideration when a faculty representative defends or attacks the classics, or the sciences, or the practical in education. The fact that there appears to be any conflict, is, and has been in the past, due to the failure of the universities to function as a whole organism of interpretation as well as of specialized parts. The difficult present situation of the classics in American education, for instance, is not, we may be assured, because there is any less *use* for the classics, nor because the value of the classics themselves is discovered to be less for the practical men of our period than it was for the men of fifty years ago. The difficulty will not be cured by jeremiads against the age and vocational education, nor by mere praise of the spirit of liberal learning and its practical utility. The difficulty is in the organism of its interpretation. Modern scientific scholarship that, in many ways made possible a new renaissance of the humanities, also actually wrought them great harm. Not as the direct result of the victory of science in their historic battle for a place in modern learning, but indirectly by "peaceful penetration." Students do not get a whole impression of the liberalizing effect of the message and spirit of the humanities. They are told that it is there,—and it *is* there, and as wonderfully alive as ever; but it remains for the most part unresurrected, because it is the victim of an institutionalized, desiccated technique. The same criticism may be made of other divisions of the curriculum where academic inbreeding threatens to crystallize the parts and institutionalize the organism on which the healthful, robust life of the university and that of the nation depend.

Culture as learning, science as investigation, and work as utility, each has an eternal life of its own, and to perfect each of them for the performance of its special work will always be

an aim of the university, each making its own value and relation to the whole clear; but this conception of its function as a university is necessarily partial and transitional. Tyndall, in his great Belfast address made in 1874, points out that it is not through science nor through literature that human nature is made whole, but through a fusion of both. Through its attempt to make a new fusion of both with work, during the great constructive years of the past half-century, our civilization has caught the impulse of a new culture center. It is this that the university must express. It is more than an aggregate of parts. As a university it is a living unity, an organism at the heart of the living democratic state, interpreting its life, not by parts, nor by a summary of parts, but wholly,—fusing the functions of brain and heart and hand under the power of the immortal spirit of democracy as it moves in present American life to the complete realization of what men really want. The real measure of its power will be whether, discarding the irrelevancies of the past and present, it can focus, fuse, and interpret their eternal verities and radiate them from a new organic center of culture. This it must do, as the heart of a nation endowed with a soul, and it must do it in terms of present American life, though not as the champion of a specific social programme. It sees its problem as positive, not negative; as one of fundamental health, not of superficial disease. It looks on the state as a producer; not as a policeman. It is not so much concerned with doing a certain set of things, as infusing the way of doing all things with a certain ideal, as the intelligent culmination of an invincible human purpose. Not by spasmodic reform, nor by sentiment, nor by the expiations of philanthropy; but by understanding, criticism, research and applied knowledge it would reveal the unity of the channels through which life flows, and minister to the purification of its currents. It would conceive the present state and all of its practical problems as the field of its service, but it would free the term from the narrowing construction of immediate practice. The whole function of education is to make straight and clear the way for the liberation of the spirit of men from the tyranny of place and time, not by running away from the world, but by mastering it.

In the immediate sense that the war is a conflict involving all the resources of the nation's present life, to be won through the absolute commitment of all of its massed forces now, or handed down as a burden of future generations, the sole question of the American university is the practical one of immediate victory. And in the larger sense that the war is merely a phase of the larger and even more heroic adventure of making real the aspirations of men to win full freedom in the realm of the creative spirit, the question is also a practical one. In that, the American university has the central and determining part. In its courses and perhaps in its organization it will be influenced by the forces of practical education that, in the war emergency, have extensively entered its life. In pure and applied science its work will be vastly stimulated. But far more significant will be the inspiration of all the component ideas and ideals of its spiritual life as the representative interpreter of a nation to which has passed the spiritual leadership of western civilization. It is a task with opportunities and obligations beyond those that have hitherto fallen to any nation, and therefore to any nation's characteristic institution. It calls for qualities of independence, courage, vision, and for faith in its own original genius, and for the warm, robust sympathy of life on the open road,—"with thought like an edge of steel and desire like a flame." It is an effort to liberate the ideal as a fighting force in the common affairs of men; and in these terms the American university will give effective answer to the nation's fateful question: "What in the way of clear guidance have you to offer, or must we look to another?"

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UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA EXTENSION LEAFLETS

A SYLLABUS OF COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENT AND NATIONAL IDEALS

By W. W. PIERSON, Jr., Ph. D.

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PREFATORY NOTE

The following syllabus is designed primarily for the use of students of the University of North Carolina. It was originally planned in 1918 to meet the requirements of the War Department for members of the Students' Army Training Corps in their study of War Issues during the second quarter. Despite the disbandment of the S. A. T. C. and the withdrawal from the curriculum of the distinctly war courses, it has been decided to retain at least for the time being the War Issues course substantially as previously planned. In accordance with these ideas, this syllabus was prepared and is intended to supplement the one issued on *The Historical and Economic Background of the War.* It will be immediately apparent that this one contains more subject matter than the other, the idea being that with the end of the war there will be a return to more normal academic standards and that with the withdrawal of military training or, at least, the adoption of less exacting requirements there will be more time for intensive study on the student's part. However this may be, the syllabus, being intended as a guide for independent study as well as an outline of lectures, contains more material than it will be possible for the teacher to employ during the course.

The study of government is a solemn obligation that rests upon the citizen; and, in a democracy, such a duty is primary and fundamental. This necessity, of course, was never more pressing than at the present time. From many sources there comes the assurance that, however the great World War may have started,—whether in the intrigues of governments or not,—it has become a people's war. The struggle for democracy has been fought and won. This victory brings with it the duty of establishing a people's peace. If such is to be the result, in the present and in the future there must be a public opinion evolved from enlightened information as to institutions, systems of government, and the general principles of political science, that will insistently guide the statesmen of the world. To contribute in so far as possible to this end, the course was retained at the University of North Carolina.

Students will be required to provide themselves individually with a copy of this syllabus and with Ogg and Beard's *National*

Governments and the World War (Macmillan). For conservation of space the following symbols or abbreviations were employed in the lists of readings:

O. & B. for F. A. Ogg and C. A. Beard, *National Governments and the World War.*

Lowell, for A. Lawrence Lowell, *Greater European Governments.*

Ogg, for F. A. Ogg, *The Governments of Europe.*

Macy and Gannaway, for Jesse Macy and J. W. Gannaway, *Comparative Free Government.*

The writer wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to Professors J. G. deRoulhac Hamilton, D. D. Carroll, and L. A. Williams, respectively of the departments of History, Economics, and Education in the University of North Carolina.

W. W. Pierson, Jr.

Chapel Hill, January, 1919.

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Introduction

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   - D. Other classifications: simple, composite, personal unions, confederations, federal unions, neutralized states.
   - E. Forms of government:
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     3. Unitary and federal, parliamentary and non-parliamentary, presidential and congressional government.
     4. Cabinet government.
     5. Bureaucratic and popular or self-government.
   - F. The nature of free government.

Readings: Garner, *Introduction to Political Science,* 124-236; Leacock, *Elements of Political Science,* 110-137; Willoughby, *The Nature of the State,* Ch. xiii; Macy and Gannaway, *Comparative Free Government,* xiii-xviii; Wilson, *The State.*

2. Relation of Government to Social Institutions:
   - A. Government as the most important social institution.
   - B. Theories of the function of government:
     1. The mercantilist plan of governmental regulation in the interest of national power.
     2. The *laissez faire* ideal of individual freedom and non-intervention on the part of the government; government as a "necessary evil"; "That government is best which governs least."
     3. The socialistic conception which looks toward the maximum instead of the minimum of government; government as a positive good; paternalism.

C. Primary aims of government: maintenance of domestic order and security; the guarantee of personal liberty; the establishment of law and the enforcement of justice.

D. Social functions with respect to education; labor, capital, and industry; health; care of the poor; social insurance; public morals and recreations; public utilities and internal improvements for the "general welfare"; land, mines, and forests. The progressive increase in social legislation.

E. The judicious compromise between the *laissez faire* and the socialistic theories—the maintenance of as large amount of liberty as is compatible with the general welfare and social progress—is the highest art of government.

READINGS: Garner, 274-329; Lacy, *Liberty and Law,* chs. 4-6; McKechnie, *The State and the Individual,* Chs. 3, 4, 8, 12; Ritchie, *Principles of State Interference,* Chs. 2-3; Addams, *Relation of the State to Industrial Action;* Montague, *Limits of Individual Liberty.*

3. GOVERNMENT AND NATIONAL IDEALS:

A. Government as the practical expression of national ideals.

B. The conflict between autocracy and democracy.

READINGS: Ogg and Beard, *National Governments and the World War,* Ch. I; Geiser, *Democracy versus Autocracy,* 1-7; Barker, *Political Thought in England from Herbert Spencer to the Present Day;* Treitschke, *Politics.*

PART I.

The Exponents of Democracy

I. The Democratic Principle:

A. The government is based upon the consent of the governed; "The principle of all sovereignty resides essentially in the nation. No body nor individual may exercise any authority which does not proceed directly from the nation."

B. The body politic is a coöperative unit whose supreme purpose is to further the welfare and ideals of its members.

C. Government is an instrument to give expression, aim, and method to these efforts; the state is not an end in itself to which the individual must be subordinated; there must be, on the contrary, a domain of individual liberty free from encroachment by individuals, associations, or the government.

D. Governments founded on these principles, it is presumed, will follow with greater consistency than those founded on different one's policies of justice and fair dealing with other governments.

Readings: Mill, *Representative Government,* Chs. 1-3; Maine, *Popular Government;* The Declaration of Independence; The Bill of Rights; Declaration of the Rights of Man; Fisher, *The Republican Tradition in Europe.*

II. The Government of Great Britain:

A. Beginnings and Sources of the English Constitution:

1. The slow evolution.

2. The sources: Custom and tradition; agreements between opposing political forces: such as *Magna Carta,* the Petition of Right, the Bill of Rights; treaties: such as the Union with Scotland in 1707, the Union with Ireland in 1801; statutes: such as the Habeas Corpus Act of 1679, the Act of Settlement of 1701, the Libel Act of 1792, the Reform Acts of 1832, 1867, 1884, the Municipal Corpora-

tions Act of 1835, The Parliamentary and Municipal Elections Act of 1872, the Local Government Acts of 1888 and 1894, the Parliament Act of 1911, and the Representation of the People Act of 1918; the common law; the court decisions and opinions; conventions, precedents and understandings. The constitution is thus partly written and partly unwritten.

3. Methods of amendment.

B. The Crown (I—Theory):

1. Executive, legislative, and judicial powers of the crown.
2. The executive councils.
3. Changes in the power of the king from the time of Tudor absolutism:
   a. The reaction against absolutism.
   b. The Puritan Revolution.
   c. The Revolution of 1688-1689.

C. The Parliament:

1. The origin of the institution.
2. The chambers:
   a. The House of Commons:
      (1) Composition and organization; officers; prorogation and dissolution.
      (2) Early inferiority in power and prestige.
      (3) Achievement of control of appropriations.
      (4) Early aristocratic control of the House of Commons.
      (5) Democratization: Reform Bill of 1832; the Chartist movement; Reform Acts of 1867 and 1884; distribution of seats; Parliament Act of 1911; payment of members; Representation Act of 1918.
      (6) Eligibility to membership: Admission of dissenters, Catholics, Jews, workingmen, women.
      (7) Procedure in legislation:
         (a) Committees.

(b) Parliamentary bills and their passage through the House of Commons; the reading and the voting.
(c) Limitation of debate.
(8) Increase in power until actual sovereignty resides in the House of Commons.
(9) Services to Great Britain.

b. The House of Lords:
(1) Composition, organization, officers.
(2) Powers in legislation; loss of precedence and prestige.
(3) Loss of power over money bills.
(4) Place in English public thought.
(5) Movement for the Reform of the House of Lords.
(6) The House as a Court.
(7) The process of legislation.
(8) Services as a chamber of review for the prevention of hasty legislation.

3. Privileges of members of Parliament.
4. The Budget system.
5. The importance of the British Parliament and the representative system; England the "mother of Parliaments."

D. The Crown (II—Practice):

1. The exercise of the powers of the king by the ministry.
2. The rise of the Cabinet:
   a. The powers of the ministry before the Puritan Revolution.
   b. The idea in the reign of Charles I that the king had done wrong because of the unwholesome advice of certain ministers.
   c. Efforts to bring such ministers under the control of Parliament by means of impeachment.
   d. The idea of ministerial responsibility to Parliament; suggestions of a precedent in the Puritan church organization.

e. The evolution of the Cabinet:
(1) Reigns of Charles II and William III.
(2) Developments in the reign of George I; Walpole, the first Prime Minister.
(3) Later perfection of the cabinet system.
f. The ministry and the cabinet.
g. Appointment, organization, payment of cabinet; position in the constitution, 1906.
h. The executive departments.
i. Relations of the cabinet to the king.
j. Importance of the cabinet in political science.

3. Utility of the monarchy:
a. The king's influence on executive policy, legislation, and foreign relations.
b. Ceremonial representative of the government.
c. Office the symbol of British unity.
d. Dignity of the position retained.

E. The Cabinet and Parliament:

1. Members of the cabinet as members of Parliament.
2. Responsibility of cabinet to the House of Commons.
3. The "Government" initiates the important public legislation.
4. The right of interpellation.
5. Procedure in the change of cabinets.

F. Government by Parties in Great Britain:

1. The party system and the cabinet; the Government and the Opposition.
2. The two great parties; the two-party system distinguished from the group system.
3. Contemporary parties in Great Britain: Liberals, Laborites, Irish Nationalists; Sinn Feiners; Unionists (Conservatives and Liberal Unionists). Local party organizations.

G. The Judicial System:

1. The law: Common and statute law.
2. Rules of Equity.
3. The Courts:

a. The justices of the peace.
b. The Borough criminal courts.
c. The County Courts.
d. The Supreme Court of Judicature: (1) The High Court: Chancery, King's Bench, Probate, Divorce, Admiralty; (2) The Court of Appeals.
e. The House of Lords as a court; the law lords, Lords of Appeal in Ordinary.
f. The judicial committee of the Privy Council.

4. British liberties and their guaranties.
5. Trial by jury in Britain.
6. The writ of *habeas corpus* in practice.
7. Freedom of speech, the press, and of religion.

H. Local Government:

1. The Municipal Corporation Act of 1835.
2. The Local Government Act of 1888.
3. The District and Parish Councils Act of 1894.
4. The distinction between the county and the borough.
5. The central departments.
6. County councils.
7. Local divisions: rural district; parish; urban district; municipal government.
8. The government of London.

I. Suffrage:

1. Suffrage before 1832.
2. The electoral reform acts of 1832, 1867, 1884, 1918.
3. The secret ballot.

J. Education:

1. Private and ecclesiastical education.
2. The old universities and academies.
3. The elementary education act of 1870.
4. The act of 1902.
5. Contemporary educational problems; education in politics.

K. Social Legislation.

1. The modern attitude of the Liberal party toward social legislation.
2. Achievements of social legislation:
   a. The Factory acts of 1819, 1834, 1844, 1847, 1872, 1874, 1878, 1901.
   b. Trade unions, 1871, 1876; general federation of Trade Unions, 1899; The famous Taff Vale decision, 1901; Trades Disputes Act of 1906; the act of 1913.
   c. Wage regulation, 1909, 1912.
   d. Workingmen's Compensation Act, 1897, 1906.
   e. Child welfare, 1908.
   f. Old Age Pensions, 1908.
   g. Unemployed labor exchange, 1909.
   h. National insurance, 1911.
   i. Taxation of the wealthy, equalization of burdens; budget of 1909, 1910.
   j. Land legislation, 1890, 1907; outlined plans of 1913-1914.
   d. Types of colony:

L. Ireland as a governmental problem.

M. British contributions to democracy and the ideals of government.

READINGS: O. & B., Ch. IX-XIV, Lowell, *Greater European Governments,* 3-76; . . . . *The Government of England;* Macy and Gannaway, 395-549; Macy, *The English Constitution;* Anson, *Law and Custom of the Constitution;* Blauvelt, *Development of Cabinet Government in England;* Marriott, *English Political Institutions;* Hayes, *British Social Politics;* Slater, *The Making of Modern England;* Muir, *National Self-Government,* 18-33, 63-65.

II. THE BRITISH EMPIRE:

1. The extent of the Empire.
2. The old colonial system:
   a. Method of establishment of colonies.
   b. Economic foundation in mercantilism or Colbertism.
   c. Institutions of government in the colonies.

(1) The proprietary (single, group, trade company).
(2) The royal.
(3) Corporate.

e. Imperial control:
(1) The royal charters.
(2) Administration of crown, privy council, commissions; instructions to colonial governors.
(3) The Board of Trade.
(4) The Acts of Trade.
(5) The British Parliament.

3. The institutional and political influence of the American Revolution.
4. The reforms in procedure and administration, and the changes in imperial attitude demanded by Pitt, Fox, and Burke.
5. The growing indifferentism toward colonies expressed in the formula of Turgot—"Colonies are like fruit; they fall off when ripe"—which was often quoted.
6. The breaking up of the mercantile system of public economics:
   a. Influence of Adam Smith and the *laissez faire* doctrine.
   b. Influence and ideas of Jeremy Bentham.
   c. Legislation of Huskisson.
   d. Free trade legislation of Peel and Gladstone.
   e. The "Little Englander" attitude.
7. The growth of democracy in Great Britain, the industrial revolution with its attendant reforms in economic policy, rather than the American Revolution, caused the changes in colonial policy. No real change in the colonial system occurred for sixty-four years after the American Revolution.
8. The Canadian Rebellion of 1837:
   a. Causes and events.
   b. Lord Durham, who drafted the Reform Bill of 1832, sent as High Commissioner to Canada.

c. The Durham Report and its proposals: (1) When colonies are prepared for it and have representative assemblies, they should be given responsible governments, thus becoming self-governing. (2) When two or more self-governing colonies desire it, they should be permitted to form confederations or unions.

d. The adoption of the Durham ideas has effected a transformation of the British Empire.

9. The new types of colony in the modern empire:

a. The self-governing colony:

Canada (Upper and Lower), 1840-1844; New Brunswick, 1848; Nova Scotia, 1848; Newfoundland, 1855; New South Wales, 1855; Victoria, 1855; Tasmania, 1856; South Australia, 1855; Queensland, 1855; Cape Colony, 1872; Western Australia, 1890; Natal, 1893; Transvaal, 1906; Orange River Colony, 1907.

b. The Confederations:

Dominion of Canada (1867, unitary government); Commonwealth of Australia (1900, federal government); Dominion of New Zealand (1907, unitary government); Union of South Africa (1909, unitary government).

c. The Crown Colony:

Types: Bermuda; Jamaica; Ceylon; Basutoland.

d. The Empire of India:

(1) The work of the East India Company.
(2) The government of India established by Parliament.
(3) Queen Victoria made Empress of India.
(4) The rule of the Viceroy and the Council.
(5) Nationality and government in India.
(6) Internal improvements of the British government; social policy.

e. Egypt:

(1) The status of Egypt.

(2) British rule.
(3) The changes of 1914.

f. Naval stations.

10. The slight control of the self-governing dominions by Great Britain:
    a. The "colonial nations" with national flags, armies, navies, tariffs, fiscal systems, and, in some cases, with diplomatic representatives.
    b. The royal governor—as the ceremonial representative of Britain and of the imperial authority; the symbol of imperial unity—holds, in the colonial polity, a position comparatively like that of the king in so far as power is concerned.
    c. The mother country through the Parliament reserves the right to veto the acts of the colonial assemblies and the right of appeal to British courts and the Privy Council, but such rights are rarely exercised.
    d. The civil service in the colonies; Dalhousie.
11. The new imperialism and the movement for imperial federation:
    a. The problem of self-government as against the ideal of imperial unity. The two must be reconciled.
    b. The idealism and proposals of Disraeli, Salisbury, Chamberlain, Cromer, Milner, Kitchener, Smuts, Seeley, and Dilke.
    c. Imperial preference.
    d. Imperial conferences, 1887, 1894, 1897, 1902, 1907, 1911; quadrennial sessions.
    e. The problem of imperial defense.
    f. Colonial participation in imperial foreign policy.
12. The empire as a "commonwealth of nations."
13. The empire as an experiment in practical internationalism.

Readings: O. & B., Ch. XV; Lowell, *Greater European Governments.* 77-92; Lowell, *Government of England,* II, Chs. LIV-LVIII; Muir,

The Expansion of Europe, 24-54, 105-142, 201-233; . . . . *The Character of the British Empire; Lord Durham's Report on the Affairs of British North America;* Lucas, *The British Empire;* Egerton, *A Short History of British Colonial Policy;* Dilke, *The British Empire;* Bradshaw, *Self-Government in Canada and How it was Achieved;* Worsford, *The Union of South Africa;* Fuller, *The Empire of India;* Cromer, *Modern Egypt;* Milner, *The Nation and the Empire;* Smuts, *The British Commonwealth of Nations.*

III. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES:

A. Historical Background:

1. The origins of American institutions.
2. Union of the thirteen British colonies in North America.
3. The Articles of Confederation:
   a. The powers conferred on the general government.
   b. Defects in the Articles of Confederation:
      (1) Absence of an executive and judiciary; of the power of enforcing obedience to laws.
      (2) Dependence on the States for financial support.
      (3) Difficulty of amendment.
   c. Sovereignty of the States recognized.
4. Movement for the Constitution; its drafting; its ratification.

B. The Federal System under the Constitution:

1. The written instrument of government.
2. The powers, rights, and sphere of control of the general government. The doctrine of delegated powers.
3. The powers, rights, and sphere of control of the States.
4. The influence of the Civil War on the position of the States in the federal system.
5. The amendment of the Constitution.
6. The vital difference between a confederation and a federal union.
7. Custom and tradition in the evolution of the constitutional system.

C. The Departments of the Government:

1. The Executive:

a. The qualifications and election of the president.

b. Term of office.

c. Powers: Head of the national administration to enforce the Constitution, laws, and treaties of the United States; ordinance power; commander-in-chief of the army and navy; appointment and removal of administrative officers; the conduct of foreign relations; pardoning power.

d. War powers: Commander-in-chief of the army and navy and the State militia (when in the national service); appointment of military officers; the power to do anything that will weaken enemy opposition; Lincoln's exercise of war powers; government of conquered territory; maintenance of domestic peace when federal civil officers are unable to do so (statutory act).

e. Relations with the Congress; veto power; power to call Congress into extraordinary session.

f. Privileges and rights; dignity of the position.

g. The national administration:

(1) The Cabinet and the heads of departments:

(a) The development of the cabinet outside of the Constitution.

(b) Functions of the cabinet.

(c) Functions of the heads of departments.

(d) Relation of the cabinet to the President.

(e) Relation of the cabinet to Congress.

(f) Services of the heads of departments in legislation.

(g) The administrative duties of the Secretary of State, of the Treas-

ury, of War, of the Navy, of the Interior, of Commerce, of Labor; Attorney-General; Postmaster-General.

(h) The departmental bureaus.

(1) The Interstate Commerce Commission.

(i) The independent commissions:

(2) The Civil Service Commission.

(3) The Federal Trade Commission.

2. The Civil Service; appointments; competitive examinations; tenure of office.
3. The legislative department:
   a. The Houses.
   b. The House of Representatives:
      (1) Qualifications and tenure of members.
      (2) Method of apportionment of seats; "gerrymandering"; unequal representation.
      (3) Distinctive powers of the House: Initiation of revenue bills; choice of its own officers and power to pass upon the rights of those who claim seats; sole power of impeachment.
      (4) Organization and legislative procedure; committees and their selection; the committee system.
   c. The Senate:
      (1) Qualifications and tenure of members.
      (2) The process of election.
      (3) Distinctive powers of the Senate: Confirms certain officers nominated by the President (simple majority vote); tries all impeachment cases (two-thirds majority vote necessary for conviction); ratifies treaties negotiated by the President (two-thirds vote necessary for ratification); elects its own officers except

the Vice President; passes upon the rights of those who claim membership.

(4) Organization and legislative procedure; debate in the Senate; the committees.

(5) Reasons for the Senate being considered the more powerful branch of the Congress.

d. Powers of Congress:

(1) The theory of delegated powers; the implied powers: the "general welfare" clause and the "necessary and proper" clause.

(2) Power to override the veto of the President.

(3) Power to declare war.

(4) Right to exercise powers of the Constitution delegated to the "United States."

(5) Other powers: To lay and collect taxes, uniform duties, imposts and excises; to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare; to borrow money; to regulate interstate and foreign commerce; to establish uniform bankruptcy and naturalization laws; to coin money and regulate its value; to prevent counterfeiting; to fix the standards of weights and measures; to establish post offices and post roads; to enact patent and copyright laws; to constitute inferior courts; to define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas; to provide for an army and navy.

e. Privileges of members of Congress.

4. The judiciary:

a. Constitutional provisions with respect to the judicial power; criticism and opposition at the time of ratification.

b. Nomination and appointment of federal judges.

c. Life tenure of office; control and removal of federal judges.
d. The ideal of an independent judiciary.
e. The Supreme Court:
(1) Jurisdiction and powers.
(2) Power to interpret the Constitution.
(3) Power to review legislation; the *Marbury v. Madison* case.
(4) The decisions and opinions of the Supreme Court as a source of constitutional law.
(5) Enforcement of the Court's decrees.
(6) Traditions and procedure of the court.
f. The inferior courts:
(1) The Circuit Courts of Appeal (1911).
(2) The District Courts (1789).
g. Special courts:
(1) The Court of Claims (1855).
(2) Court of Customs Appeals (1909).
h. The courts of the District of Columbia and of the Territories and dependencies.
i. The jurisdiction of the lower federal courts.
j. Political issues with respect to the judiciary; recall of judges; recall of judicial decisions.

D. The Government of the States:

1. The nature of the American State.
2. The process of creating and admitting new States.
3. The governmental departments in the States: the executive, legislative, and judicial.
4. The county or parish and township government.
5. Control and agencies of education.
6. Police power of the States.
7. The original or residuary powers of the States and the contemporary tendencies toward a concentration of them in the hands of the federal government.
8. Limitations on State power.
9. Municipal government in the United States.

10. The initiative, referendum, and recall in the United States.
11. Suffrage and electoral reform.

E. Social Institutions and Legislation with respect to Education, Agriculture, and Labor.

F. The Government of Territories and Dependencies:
1. The government of Alaska.
2. Government of Porto Rico.
3. Government of Hawaii, and the Philippines.

G. Political Parties and Party Government:
1. The two great parties and their political principles.
2. The minor parties.
3. The State and national party organizations; the conventions.
4. Party "primaries" for the selection of nominees.
5. The party system and government in the United States; the service in effecting coöperation between executive and legislative departments.
6. The congressional caucus.
7. The imperfections in the party system.

H. Democratic Ideals:
1. American democracy as interpreted by Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, Douglas, Cleveland, Roosevelt, and Wilson.
2. Civil rights in the United States:
   a. Life, liberty and property (no one may be deprived of these except by due process of law).
   b. Religious liberty.
   c. Freedom of speech and of the press.
   d. Right of assembly and of petition.
   e. Equality and inequality before the law.
3. Privileges and duties of the citizen.

Readings: O. & B., Chs. II-VIII; Farrand, *The Framing of the Constitution; Macy and Gannaway,* 3-391; Bryce, *The American Commonwealth;* Beard, *American Politics and Government; . . . . The Supreme Court and the Constitution;* Goodnow, *Politics and Administration;* Ostrogorski, *Democracy and the Party System in*

the United States; Fairlie, *The National Administration;* Smith, *The Spirit of American Government;* Wilson, *Constitutional Government in the United States;* Foerster and Pierson, *American Ideals.*

IV. THE GOVERNMENT OF FRANCE.

A. Historical Background:

1. Changes in the form of government from the time of the absolute monarchy of Louis XVI:
   a. The French Revolution: Constitutional monarchy, 1791-1792; republic, 1792-1799; under the Convention, 1792-1795; under the Directory, 1795-1799.
   b. The Napoleonic era:
      (1) The Consulate, 1799-1804.
      (2) The Empire, 1804-1814-1815.
   c. The Restoration:
      (1) Louis XVIII, 1814-1815-1824.
      (2) Charles X, 1824-1830.
   d. The Bourgeoisie Monarchy:
      Louis Philippe, 1830-1848.
   e. The Second Republic:
      Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, President, 1848-1852.
   f. The Second Empire; Napoleon III, 1852-1870.
   g. The Third Republic.

2. Origin of the Third Republic:
   a. Product, immediately at least, not so much of revolution as of national disaster.
   b. Bonapartists discredited; royalists, unable to agree then or later, yielded to the vigor of the republicans who announced the republic after Sedan, September 4, 1870.
   c. The Provisional Government of National Defense.
   d. The National Assembly and Thiers, "Chief of the Executive Power"; the period of indetermination as to the ultimate form of government.

e. Constitution not framed until 1875, then not a single document, but three laws:
(1) February 24, Organization of Senate.
(2) February 25, Organization of the Public Powers.
(3) July 16, Relations of the Public Powers.
(4) Two others which virtually were constitutional related to the election of the Senators and the Deputies.

f. Amendments to the constitutional laws:
(1) 1879, location of executive and legislative powers at Paris.
(2) 1884, referring to the organization of the Senate and the election of its members.
(3) 1885 and 1889, referring to the election of Deputies.

g. The process of amendment.

h. The absence of theoretical principles, Duguit's opinion was that, notwithstanding this absence, the Declaration of the Rights of Man is really a part of the constitution.

i. General character of the French constitution.

B. The Third Republic firmly established in 1879; MacMahon and Broglie *versus* Gambetta; republican control and ministerial responsibility, 1879.

1. The Organs of the National Government:

a. The executive:

(1) The President:

(a) Term of office; election; qualifications; privileges.

(b) Powers (generally exercised by the ministry): May initiate legislation; promulgates the laws; enforces their execution; the suspensive veto (not exercised); the important ordinance powers; may dissolve Chamber of Deputies (with the consent of the Senate); adminis-

trative and appointive powers; the conduct of foreign relations; pardoning powers; the French President really a figure-head, who neither rules nor reigns, the ceremonial and social representative of the nation.

(2) The ministry:
  (a) Appointment; existence guaranteed by the constitution.
  (b) Duties: Administration of the affairs of the departments of the government; representation of the "Government" in the legislature.
  (c) Relations to the President.
  (d) Responsibility to the legislative chambers.
    (1) The law of 1875 (Art. 6).
    (2) The parliamentary system in France.
  (e) Powers: They exercise practically the nominal powers of the President; they introduce and are responsible for the important legislation in the legislature; "Every act of the President of the Republic shall be countersigned by a minister."
  (f) Frequency of changes in the French ministry.
  (g) Influence of the multiple party system on the ministry.
  (h) Continuity of public policy in France.

(3) The Council of State (*Conseil d'Etat*):
  (a) History.
  (b) Theoretical functions as an advisory body.
  (c) Court of administrative justice.

(4) The Council of Ministers (*Conseil des Ministres*), composition, powers, functions.

b. The Legislature:

(1) The bicameral system: The Chamber of Deputies and the Senate.

(2) The Senate:

(a) Composition and tenure; process of election; changes in the constitution, 1884.

(b) Organization and procedure.

(c) Powers and functions: Concurrent power of legislation; tries impeachment cases; consent is necessary for dissolution of Chamber of Deputies; may try, under certain limitations, persons making an attempt on the safety of the Republic.

(d) Custom (though there have been exceptions) makes the ministry responsible to the Chamber of Deputies; the case of 1896.

(e) The Senate not as influential as the Chamber of Deputies.

(3) The Chamber of Deputies:

(a) Composition and tenure; qualifications of members; process of election; the Arrondisement.

(b) Organization; officers; committees; bureaus; procedure.

(*c*) Powers and functions: Concurrent power in legislation; initiation of money bills; power of impeachment; predominant influence over ministry.

(d) The Chamber a tumultuous body.

(4) The ministry in Parliament:

(a) Members of the ministry as members of Parliament.

(b) The right of interpellation.
(c) Process of changing a ministry.

(5) Parliamentary suffrage:
(a) Universal manhood suffrage in France.
(b) The Scrutin de Liste and the Scrutin d'Arrondisement.
(c) Conduct of parliamentary elections
(d) The problem of proportional representation; the Briand proposals of 1910; the law of 1913.

(6) Contemporary political parties:
(a) Republicans and conservatives.
(b) Republican factions; radicals and Socialists; the *bloc*.

(7) The National Assembly: The joint meeting of the chambers for the purpose of (1) amending the constitution; (2) electing the President of the Republic.

c. The judiciary:
(1) Judicial reforms of the French Revolution.
(2) The Napoleonic Code:
(a) The civil code of 1804.
(b) Influence in the world: In Europe; in Latin-American countries and the United States.

(3) Other codes: Code of Civil Procedure (1806); Code of Commerce (1807); Code of Criminal Procedure (1808); Penal Code (1810).

(4) Civil rights: Civil liberty and equality, religious toleration, guaranties against arbitrary arrest, equality of inheritance, jury trial.

(5) The distinction between private law and public law; two sets of courts founded on this division.

(6) The courts:
- (a) Justice of the Peace.
- (b) *Tribunal d'Arrondisement;* number of judges.
- (c) The *Cours d'Appel;* official; sections; jurisdiction.
- (d) The *Cours d'Assises.*
- (e) The Court of Cassation; judges; sections; the supreme court in France in private law.
- (f) The administrative courts:
  - (1) Purpose: To determine the status and liabilities of officials and to establish the basis of relationship between the private individual and the public officials.
  - (2) The Council of State.
- (g) Courts of commerce, accounts, public instruction; conflicts.

(7) The appointment and tenure of judges.
(8) The use of the jury in France.

2. Local Government in France:
   a. Reforms in local government during the French Revolution:
   - (1) Establishment of departments, districts, cantons, communes.
   - (2) Uniformity in area and detachment from tradition and sentiment.
   - (3) History of local government, 1789-1800.
   - (4) The Napoleonic centralization; the prefectural system.

   b. Local government under the Third Republic:
   - (1) The Department; the prefect and the councils.
   - (2) The district or Arrondisement: sub-prefect and elective council.
   - (3) The canton.
   - (4) The commune: The mayor and the council. Importance of the commune.

c. Influence of the French system of centralized control of local government in Belgium, Italy, Spain, Greece, Japan, Latin-America. "If, in the nineteenth century, England has been the mother of parliaments and has exercised a dominant influence upon the evolution of national governments, France has had an equally important rôle in moulding systems of local administration among the nations."—*Munro.*

C. Nationals Ideals of France.

Readings: O. & B., Chs. XVI-XVIII; Lowell, *Greater European Governments,* 93-194; . . . . *Governments and Parties in Continental Europe;* Ogg, *The Governments of Europe,* 289-351; Anderson, *Constitutions of France;* Tridon, *France's Way of Choosing a President* (Review of Reviews, 1912); Bracq, *France Under the Third Republic;* Vizetelly, *Republican France;* Humphreys, *Proportional Representation,* 382-385; Usher, *Procedure in the French Chamber of Deputies* (Political Science Quarterly, 1906); Irwell, The *Judicial System of France,* (Green Bag, 1902); Munro, *Governments of European Cities;* Poincare, *How France is Governed.*

V. The Government of Italy:

A. Historical Background:

1. Influence of the French Revolution in the Italian peninsula; the great contribution of the revolution, made largely through medium of Napoleon, being the movement for nationality and democracy.
2. The political map of Italy as arranged by the Congress of Vienna.
3. The liberal national movement of the Carbonari, Mazzini, and the Young Italy party.
4. The Kingdom of Sardinia and the unification of Italy; the constitution of 1848.
5. Builders of modern Italy: Victor Emmanuel II, Cavour, Garibaldi; the Kingdom of Italy, 1861. The use of the *plebiscite* in the process of annexations.

B. The constitution (*Statuto*):

1. The crown: Theoretical and actual powers of the

king; acceptance in general of the British ideal of a constitutional monarchy, though the king has more power than the British monarch.

2. The ministry as the actual executive:
   - *a.* The premier (chosen by the king).
   - *b.* The heads of departments.
   - *c.* Responsibility to the legislature.
   - *d.* Organization and functions.
   - *e.* Powers of the Italian ministry; traditions and practices; relations to the king and to the Chamber of Deputies.
3. The Legislature:
   - *a.* The Senate:
     - (1) Composition: members appointed for life by king, drawn from some twenty-one classes of people.
     - (2) Powers of legislation; chiefly a board of revision; judicial functions.
   - *b.* The Chamber of Deputies:
     - (1) Composition, the electoral process; laws of 1862, 1875, 1882, 1895, 1912; electoral reform, the question of illiteracy; qualifications of members.
     - (2) Powers, functions; organization, procedure.
     - (3) The ministry and the Chamber; right of interpellation; the parliamentary system in operation.
4. The judiciary:
   - (1) Similarity to the French system.
   - (2) The ordinary courts.
   - (3) The Court of Cassation.
   - (4) The administrative courts.
5. Local government in Italy:
   - *a.* Close resemblance to the French system.
   - *b.* Units: The province, the *circondaro;* the *mandamento;* the commune; the prefects and the syndics.
   - *c.* The principle of centralization.
6. Amendment of the constitution.

C. The government and the educational and industrial problems.

D. Relations of the state and the Papacy.

E. Political parties in Italy.

F. National ideals:

1. The elaborate Bill of Rights in the constitution.
2. The ideals of Mazzini.

READINGS: O. & B., Ch. XIX; Lowell, 195-232; Ogg, 353-403; Lowell, *Governments and Parties;* King, *History of Italian Unity;* Ruiz, *Amendments to the Italian Constitution* (Ann. of the Amer. Acad. of Pol. Science, 1895); Wallace, *Greater Italy;* Neilsen, *History of the Papacy in the Nineteenth Century;* King and Okey, *Italy To-day.*

PART II.

Modern Autocracies

I. Political Theories of Autocracy:

A. The basic theories:

1. Authority and power belong to monarchs by divine right; the moral rewards for obedience and loyal support, and moral anathemas for opposition.
2. Absolute control of military power and the right to wage war. Autocracy so likely to rest upon military power that militarism is of easy development.
3. Reforms in government come—if the ideal is observed—from above and not from the people. There may be benevolent despotism or there may be tyranny which employs the people (subjects) as instruments of dynastic power.
4. The state, often regarded as a living organism and as in itself an end, claims the services of the individual as of right, rather than being an instrumentality for the interests of the people.

B. Autocracy and governmental efficiency; superiority or administrative organization; ability to sustain a policy unaffected by popular favor or opposition; encouragement of arts, investigation, and research; government by experts.

C. Autocracy and governmental inefficiency: When the system is in weak, incapable hands, it becomes inefficient, corrupt, unprogressive; the worst evils of bureaucracy develop; the old regime in France and Russia.

D. The irresponsibility of the autocratic government; the German Kaiser "responsible to no power on earth."

E. While granting in some cases legal and, to some extent, social equality, autocracy is generally unfriendly to liberty.

F. The indoctrination of the public mind; "the mobilization of public opinion" for governmental purposes.

READINGS: O. & B., Ch. I; Treitschke, *Politics; Out of Their Own Mouths; Utterances of the German Rulers;* James I, *The True Laws of a Free Monarchy;* Filmer, *Patriarcha.*

II. GOVERNMENT IN GERMANY.

A. Historical Background:

1. The Holy Roman Empire in its last days.
2. Napoleon and the Germanies; the *Reichsdeputationshauptschluss;* the end of the Holy Roman Empire.
3. The Congress of Vienna and the Germanies.
4. Controversy of constitutionalism and nationalism *versus* autocracy and particularism.
5. Revolutions of 1848; the Congress of Frankfort; the failure of democratic elements and political ideas to unify Germany.
6. The Prussian constitution of 1850.
7. Unification under the leadership of Bismarck.

B. The government of Prussia:

1. Form of government (until 1918) a monarchy with a written constitution granted by the king who had original and residuary but not delegated power.
2. The Crown and the ministers:
   a. King—the office hereditary in the male line of the Hohenzollern family.
   b. Powers: Head of the army (soldiers taking oath of loyalty to him personally and not to the constitution); head of all administration; appointive power; veto power; "He is the personified power of the State."
   c. Ministers: The king organizes the ministry, assigns, functions, appoints and dismisses; members not a cabinet, but independent of each other; they need not be members of the legislature; they are not responsible to the legislature, but to the king.
3. The Landtag:
   a. The House of Lords (Herrenhaus): Princes of the blood, certain territorial nobles, life peers

appointed by the king, representatives of the universities and the church, and others designated by the king.

b. Powers, functions, organization and procedure.

c. The House of Representatives (Abgeordnetenhaus):

(1) Composition, powers, tenure, importance.

(2) The electoral process: the district; the indirect voting system: the electorate divided into three parts by dividing the taxes into three parts. The largest taxpayers who contribute one-third of the taxes are put in one class, those who pay the next third in the second class, and all of the other people constitute the last class. Each class chooses a third of the electors, who jointly select the representative to the Landtag.

4. Local government in Prussia:

a. The complicated system of local government.

b. The provinces; provincial districts, circles, communes.

c. Organs of local government.

d. The municipal system; the burgomasters; executive boards and town councils; the operation of the three-class system in municipal elections.

e. Control of certain local affairs as roads, poor relief; control of affairs like army, taxes, the church, and police under bureaucratic, national authority.

5. Bureaucratic traditions in Prussia.

6. The government and militarism.

C. The South German States: Bavaria, Baden, Wurtemberg:

1. French influences in the South German states; liberalism of the first half of the nineteenth century; opposition to Prussia; opposition to militarism.

2. Suffrage in South Germany—more liberal than in Prussia; proportional representation in Wurtem-

berg; progress toward responsible government in Baden.

3. The sacrifice of liberal tendencies in the formation of the German Empire.

D. The German Empire (until 1918):

1. Composition: four kingdoms: Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, and Wurtemberg; six grand-duchies: Baden, Hesse, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Saxe-Weimar, Mecklenburg-Strelitz, and Oldenburg; five duchies: Brunswick, Saxe-Meiningen, Saxe-Altenburg, Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, and Anhalt; seven principalities: Schwarzburg-Sonderhausen, Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt, Waldeck, Reuss Älterer Linie, Reuss Jungerer Linie, Lippe, Schaumburg-Lippe; three free cities: Hamburg, Bremen, Lübeck. In addition, there was the quasi-state Alsace-Lorraine.
2. A federal empire; sovereignty and the division of powers; the *Sonderrechte*.
3. The constitution (*projet*) of 1871; the constitution of the North German Confederation and the treaties with the South German States.
4. The imperial government:
   a. The executive; office of "German Emperor" vested in the king of Prussia; character of the office and the significance of the title.
      (1) Powers: Commander-in-chief of the German army and navy; control of foreign relations; right to declare war (offensive war requires consent of the *Bundesrat*), and conclude peace; promulgate and execute the laws; ordinance powers; appointive and pardoning power. Powers delegated, not original.
      (2) Rights and privileges of the Kaiser: Responsible to no earthly power; absolute immunity from any judicial proceedings looking toward removal from office; safety and protection against slander.

(3) The Chancellor:

(a) Constitutional position: Intermediary between Kaiser and imperial legislature; administrative representative of the Kaiser and responsible solely to him; must countersign all imperial decrees.

(b) Functions: Presides over the *Bundesrat;* communicates desires and policies of Kaiser to *Reichstag;* may speak in the *Reichstag* to advocate legislation and to defend policy; chief imperial administrator; may speak in the Reichstag to advo- "ministers."

b. The Legislature:

(1) The *Bundesrat* (Federal Council):

(a) Composition: Delegates appointed by the executives of the constituent states; status that of diplomats, not of legislators; responsible to the rulers they represent and are removable at any time. Chamber, properly speaking, not a deliberative body.

(b) Apportionment of votes; instructions; unit system of voting; organization and procedure; secret sessions.

(c) Coördinate legislative powers: prepares a large amount of legislation for the consideration of the *Reichstag.*

(d) Executive and judicial functions.

(c) Privileges of Prussia.

(2) The *Reichstag:*

(a) Composition; term; electoral district; franchise; allotment of seats.

(b) Organization and function; officers;

methods of business; powers: concurrent powers of legislation (in fact, however, *Reichstag* has been distinctly inferior to the *Bundesrat*). The *Reichstag* as a "legalized debating society" or as a "hall of echoes."

c. The government of Alsace-Lorraine:
(1) The *Reichsland*.
(2) The constitution of 1911.

d. Political parties in the *Reichstag*: The conservatives and the radicals; the National Liberals; Clericals; Social Democrats; minor factions; rise of the Socialists. Protests against the subordinate position of the *Reichstag*.

e. Achievements in social legislation.

E. Teutonic Ideals:

1. "Prussia attained her greatness as a country of soldiers and officials, and as such she was able to accomplish the work of German union; to this day she is still, in all essentials, a state of soldiers and officials."
2. As the exemplar in the modern world of efficiency and strength, the German government regards democracy as a source of weakness.
3. The German army supreme in the State over the civil power: "The king is their comrade and they are attached to him as to their war lord, and this is the very foundation of our national life. The essence of our monarchy resides in its relations with the army. Whoever knows our officers must know that they would never tolerate the government of a minister of war issuing from Parliament."—*Delbrück*.
4. Ideal of war.
5. Ideals of Kultur.
6. Ideals of Expansion.

Readings: O. & B., Chs. XXI-XXIV; Lowell, 233-309; .....*Governments and Parties,* II, 355-377; Macy and Gannaway, 592-613; Hazen, *The Government of Germany* (War Information Ser., Com. on Pub. Information); Howard, *The German Empire;* Treitschke, *Politics;* Henderson, *A Short History of Germany;* Von Sybel, *The Founding of the German Empire;* Perrin, *The German Social Democracy* (North Amer. Rev., 1910); Munro, *The Government of European Cities.*

III. The Government of Austria-Hungary.

A. Historical Background:

1. Austrian political development: Establishment of Hapsburg power; political consolidation of Austria, Hungary, Bohemia; acquisition of parts of Poland and Italy; expansion into the Balkan region.
2. The problem of government and nationality in Austria-Hungary.
3. The "Metternich system" with respect to liberalism and nationality.
4. Political results of the revolutions of 1848.
5. Constitutional patents of 1860-1861.
6. The *Ausgleich,* 1867:
   a. The term of the agreement.
   b. The joint ministers.
   c. The delegations; powers; procedure.

B. The Government of Austria (until 1918):

1. Character of the constitution: Five documents sanctioned by the crown and supplemented by custom.
2. The Emperor:
   a. Powers: Appointment and dismissal of ministers; naming of all public officials not otherwise provided for; command of all armed forces; power of declaring war and making peace; granting of pardons and amnesty; summoning, proroguing, and dissolving of all legislative bodies; ordinance power; conduct of foreign relations.

b. Prestige and privileges—Emperor "sacred, inviolable, irresponsible."

3. The ministry, nominally responsible to the legislature (sometimes actually so) but practically to the Emperor. Ministries of War, Finance, and Foreign Affairs common to Austria and Hungary.
4. The legislature or *Reichsrath* (Imperial Assembly):
   a. The House of Lords: Composition and powers.
   b. The House of Representatives: Composition and powers.
   c. The electoral process: the race problem and the legislature; racial distribution of seats, law of 1907; parties.
   d. The language question and the government.
5. The judiciary.
6. Local government:
   a. The provinces and their Diets.
   b. The communes.
7. Government and nationality in Austria; the Austrian policy liberal as compared with that of Hungary.

C. The Government of Hungary:

1. The constitution; character and antiquity.
2. The governmental organs:
   a. The king.
   b. Ministry; appointment and responsibility.
   c. The legislature:
      (1) The Table of Magnates; composition and powers.
      (2) The Table of Deputies: Composition and powers; process of election; the race and language question; the domination of the Magyars, electoral law of 1874.
   d. The judiciary:
      (1) The system of law.
      (2) The courts.
   c. The local government; the county.
3. The Ban and Diet of Croatia-Slavonia.

READINGS: O. & B., Ch. XXV; Lowell, 310-329;.....*Governments and Parties,* II, 152-161, 378-404; Ogg, 441-516; Cambridge Modern History, XI, Ch. XII; Geiser, *Democracy vs. Autocracy,* 36-62; Leger, *History of Austria-Hungary;* Forster, *Francis Deak.*

IV. THE GOVERNMENT OF RUSSIA.

A. The Old Regime in Russia:
1. The Romanoff dynasty, 1612-1917.
2. The reforms of Peter the Great and Alexander I.
3. The problem of serfdom and landownership.
4. The government and ideals of Nicholas I; "frozen Russia."
5. Constitutional and philosophical movement.

B. Government in Russia:
1. The executive:
   a. The Czar: Political and ecclesiastical powers.
   b. The councils: Council of the State; the Senate; the Holy Synod; the Committee of Ministers.
   c. The ministers and their responsibility to the Czar.
   d. Legislative power of the Czar; the *Ukase.*
2. The constitutional laws of 1905:
   a. The Imperial Duma.
   b. Guaranties of liberty of conscience, speech, and association.
   c. Suffrage made virtually universal, but with class restrictions.
3. The legislature:
   a. The Council of the Empire; constitution and powers.
   b. The Duma: Composition, election; powers.
   c. The Czar's legislative powers.
   d. Political parties in Russia.
4. Local Government:
   a. The "Governments."
   b. Zemstvos.
   c. The Mir.
5. The judicial system:
   a. The courts and the law.

b. Punishment of political prisoners.

6. The government and education.
7. The government and nationality:
   a. The constitution for Finland of 1906.
   b. The question of Poland.
   c. The Jews.
   d. Separatist national movements in Russia.
8. Governmental aspects of the revolution of 1917.

READINGS: Cambridge Modern History, XI, Ch. XXII, XII, Ch. XII-XIII; Milyoukov and others, *Russian Realities and Problems;* Alexinsky, *Modern Russia;* Mavor, *An Economic History of Russia;* Kovalesky, *Russian Political Institutions;* Phillips, *Poland.*

V. AUTOCRACY IN TURKEY.

A. The absolutist regime in Turkey, 1453-1908.
   1. Civil and ecclesiastical duties of the Sultan; Oriental despotism.
   2. The Grand Vizier and the council.
   3. The local divisions: the villayets, sanjaks, kazas.

B. The Young Turks and the Constitution of 1908:
   1. Powers of the Sultan.
   2. The ministry.
   3. The legislature.
   4. Theory and practice in Turkey.

READINGS: Freeman, *The Ottoman Power in Europe;* Buxton, *Turkey in Revolution;* Davey, *The Sultan and his Subjects.*

PART III.
Other Belligerent Nations

I. The Problem of the Small Nation:

A. Importance of the small nation in the evolution of international law.

B. Equality of nations. Is it actual?

C. The right of small nations to exist, although they may occupy geographic positions of strategic and economic importance.

D. Relations between small and great nations.

E. The Allies' war purposes with relation to the small state.

Readings: Brandes, *The World at War.*

II. The Government of Belgium:

A. Historical Background:

1. Belgium before the Congress of Vienna.
2. Belgium as a part of the kingdom of Holland, 1815-1830.
3. Nationality and religion in Belgium.
4. The independence of Belgium; strategic position; neutralization.

B. Government:

1. Belgium, a liberal constitutional monarchy, with a written constitution (1831) dedicated to the principle: "All powers emanate from the people."
2. Influence of France and Great Britain on the governmental system of Belgium.
3. The amendments of 1893 and 1899.
4. Organs of government:
   a. The crown: powers limited strictly to those conferred by the constitution and the law; appointive, diplomatic, pardoning and ordinance power; the king declares war and commands army and navy; powers nominal.
   b. The ministry exercises actually the powers of the king and are responsible to the legislature.

c. The legislature:
(1) The Senate: Composition, process of election; tenure; organization; powers.
(2) The House of Representatives: Composition; process of election; tenure; powers.
(3) Parliamentary suffrage: Plural voting; compulsory voting; proportional representation.
(4) The ministry in parliament: Ministry responsible to the House of Representatives; interpellation.
d. The Judiciary: Influence of France.
e. Local government: Close resemblance to the French system.

5. Government of the Belgian Congo.
6. Abandonment of neutralization, 1918.

READINGS: Ogg, 534-551; Humphreys, *Proportional Representation in Belgium* (Contemporary Rev., 1908); Van der Essen, *A Short History of Belgium.*

III. GOVERNMENT OF PORTUGAL:

A. Historical Background:
1. The effect of the Napoleonic wars on Portugal.
2. Relations of Portugal and Brazil.
3. The constitutional changes of 1820, 1826.
4. The party controversies of the *Regeneradores* and the *Progressistas.*
5. The Revolution of 1910.

B. The government of the republic:
1. The constitution of 1911:
a. The elaborate guaranties of rights and liberties.
b. The processes of amendment: by legislative action at ten-year intervals; at five-year intervals by two-thirds of Congress.
2. Organs of government:
a. The executive: Process of election; term; qualifications; powers.

b. The responsible ministry.
c. The Legislature or Congress:
(1) The Council of Municipalities.
(2) The National Council.
(3) Composition; functions; proportional representation.
d. The judiciary.
e. Local government.
3. Government of dependencies.

Readings: Ogg, 629-646; Cambridge Modern History, XI, Ch. XX, XII, Ch. X; Stephens, *History of Portugal;* Dillon, *Republican Portugal* (Contemporary Rev.; 1910).

IV. The Balkans: Serbia, Montenegro, Bulgaria, Greece, Roumania:

A. Establishment of the independence of the Balkan States.
B. Monarchy in the Balkans: Greece (1830), Roumania 1881), Serbia (1882), Bulgaria (1909), Montenegro (1910).
C. Ministerial responsibility in the Balkans.
D. The legislative systems.
E. Government and nationality in the Balkans.

Readings: Cambridge Modern History, XII, Ch. XIV; Forbes and others, *The Balkans—A History of Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, Roumania, Turkey;* Buxton, *Turkey in Revolution;* Dicey, *The Peasant State.*

V. Latin-American States in the War:

A. The republican system in Latin-America; the written constitutions; the minute and comprehensive delimitation of governmental functions.
B. Unitary and federal republics.
C. The office of President.
D. Legislative systems.
E. Judicial systems and local government.
F. Government and education in Latin-America.
G. Latin-America and the World War.

READINGS: Macy and Gannaway, 656-687; Garcia Calderon, *Latin-America, Its Rise and Progress,* 222-248, 365-677; Shepherd, *Latin-America,* 141-150; Domville-Fife, *Great States of South America;* Reinsch, *Parliamentary Government in Chile* (Amer. Pol. Science Rev., III, 507 *et seq.*); Porter, *The Ten Republics;* Scruggs, *The Colombian and Venezuelan Republics.*

VI. JAPAN:

A. Absolutism and feudalism in Japan.

B. Abolition of the shogunate, 1868; the acts of 1871.

C. Influence of Western ideas and civilization after 1853.

D. The constitution of 1889:

1. The office and powers of the Mikado.
2. The ministry.
3. The legislature and parliamentary suffrage.
4. The judiciary and local government.
5. Political parties.

E. Contemporary governmental reforms; progress toward responsible government.

READINGS: Iyenaga, *The Constitutional Development of Japan;* Reinsch, *Intellectual and Political Currents in the Far East.*

VII. THE PROBLEM OF THE NEUTRAL:

1. Laws governing the status and conduct of the neutral.
2. Rights of the neutral state.
3. The neutral and the freedom of the seas.
4. Armed neutrality.
5. American neutrality.
6. Neutrality and the modern world wars.

READINGS: Brewer, *The Rights and Duties of Neutrals; a Discussion of Principles and Practices.*

PART IV.

Contemporary Tendencies in Political Science and Thought

I. Ideas of Sovereignty as Affected by the War:

A. The medieval ideal of the unity of Christendom replaced by that of the territorial and national state; the state as entirely independent and within its own boundaries omnipotent.

B. The theories of sovereignty advanced by Machiavelli; Bodin; Hobbes, and the modern political scientists; sovereignty as "The supreme, irresistible, absolute, untrolled authority."—*Blackstone.*

C. States as the final, supreme judges in their own cases in last resort.

D. Sovereignty and nationality.

E. Unlimited sovereignty and international "anarchy."

F. Sovereignty and international relations:

1. Facts which make interrelationship and interdependence as necessary and as actual among nations as among individuals.
2. *Grotius:* "Human life is essentially a society, and certain laws, of which fidelity to plighted word is the most important, are as immutable as human nature." No state should have the right nor the power to ignore solemn treaties.
3. International law:
   a. Nature and progress.
   b. Absence of any sanction other than the moral conscience of the world.
   c. Need for codification.
   d. Is international law a limitation of national sovereignty?

G. The World War regarded as an outcome of the modern system based on the idea of absolute sovereignty.

H. The doctrine of limited sovereignty. Feasibility as a theory.

I. Ideas of sovereignty with respect to internal affairs; the group or pluralistic theory. Contemporary opinion as to divisibility of sovereignty.

J. Internationalism; alliances of peoples as well as governments.

READINGS: Beer, *English Speaking Peoples,* 1-63; Merriam, *History of Sovereignty;* Bliss, *On Sovereignty;* Calhoun, *Disquisition on Government;* Ritchie, *The Conception of Sovereignty;* Hobson, *Towards International Government;* Laski, *Problems of Sovereignty.*

II. POLITICAL THEORY RESPECTING A LEAGUE OF NATIONS:

A. The view that: The final sanction of all government is force.

1. The kinds of force: That employed by the government to maintain domestic order and for national defense; that employed for aggression.
2. Force internationally expressed is measured in armaments—the militarists claim that armaments insure national safety and peace; their opponents claim that they lead inevitably to war.

B. Are wars inevitable?

C. Can peace be made lasting if a settlement is effected based on the principles of:

1. Democracy;
2. Scrupulous regard for the principle of nationality?

D. The plan of the American League to Enforce Peace:

1. The proposal:
   a. Submission of justiciable questions to arbitration.
   b. Submission of other questions to a Council of Conciliation.
   c. The leagued powers to use economic and military force against any member who goes to war previous to such submission.
   d. Frequent conferences for the codification of international law.
   e. Supplementary ideas as to executive and legislative institutions.

2. The objections of pacifists, militarists, and nationalists.

E. The League of Nations.

F. President Wilson's ideas of such a league:
   1. The international responsibility of the United States as opposed to the traditional policy of isolation.
   2. Bases of such a league:
      a. It must be a "partnership of democratic nations. No autocratic government could be trusted to keep faith within it or observe its covenants."
      b. People have the right to choose the sovereignty under which they are to live.
      c. Small states have a right to independence and territorial integrity.
      d. The world has a "right to be free from every disturbance of its peace that has its origin in aggression and disregard of the rights of peoples and nations."
   3. The adoption of these principles by the Democratic party, 1916; attitude of the Republican Party.

G. Views of Sir Edward Grey; other British statesmen; G. Lowes Dickinson; the Labor Party.

H. Opinion in France, Germany, and the other European countries.

I. Integral relationship of the league of nations to international trade and commerce:
   1. "Economic barriers":
      a. Discriminating and preferential tariffs; "kartels"; boycotts.
      b. Restrictions on access to raw materials.
      c. Problems of foreign exchange.
      d. Internationalization of copyrights and patents.
      e. International immobility of labor.
      f. International variations in the standard of living.

Readings: Muir, *Nationalism and Internationalism;* Ashbee, *The American League;* Brailsford, *The League of Nations;* Hobson, *To-*

wards International Government; Lowell, *The League to Enforce Peace;* Goldsmith, *The League to Enforce Peace;* Bourne, *Towards an Enduring Peace;* Viscount Grey, *America and Freedom;..... The League of Nations;* Zimmern, *Nationality and Government;* Minor, *A Republic of Nations.*

III. ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS IN THE FORMATION OF A LEAGUE OF NATIONS:

A. Institutions proposed by the American League to Enforce Peace:
   1. International Court of Arbitral Justice.
   2. International court or commission for conciliation.
   3. Congresses for the drafting and codification of a law of nations.

B. The question of international government:
   1. Shall it involve a world state?
   2. Shall such a government have the classical division of powers: The executive, the legislative, and the judicial?
   3. Does international government involve a revision of the pre-war theories of sovereignty?
   4. To what extent would international government be warranted in interfering with national affairs; with national defense; with economic and social affairs?
   5. The problem of constituting the organs of international government.

C. Establishment of a sanction for international law:
   1. Shall it be economic?
   2. Shall it be diplomatic and military?

D. International Government in relation to (1) the problem of nationalism and (2) the problem of economic opportunity.

READINGS: In addition to those of Section II, O. & B., Ch. XVII.

IV. THE POSITION OF A NATION IN A LEAGUE OF NATIONS:

A. The position, of course, depends on what plan of a league is adopted.

B. National sovereignty retained in the plan of the League to Enforce Peace.

C. The vital difference between a confederation of sovereign states and a federal World State.

D. The doctrine of limited sovereignty applied to this problem; reserved powers of component states.

E. The conflict between tendencies of union and those of disunion; consolidation *versus* particularism; home rule and sectionalism *versus* centralization.

Readings: Minor, *A Republic of Nations.*

V. War Powers and National Defense:

A. Extraordinary war powers of governments:
1. Espionage legislation.
2. Internment.
3. Food, transportation, production, and consumption control; mobilization of the civilian population.
4. Collectivism in war-time.
5. The Bill of Rights and the constitutional guaranties of liberty in war-time.

B. Conscription, military service; compulsory military service in war and in peace.

Readings: O. & B., Ch. VIII; *War Cyclopedia* under "Civilian Tasks"; "Food Control"; "Fuel Control."

VI. The Democratic Principle and the War:

A. In America:
1. The renewed study of American Ideals.
2. The agitation for woman suffrage.
3. Democracy in the conduct of the war.

B. In Great Britain:
1. Representation of the People Act, 1918.
2. The Coalition Cabinet.
3. Proposed constitution for India.

C. Proposed electoral reform in Belgium.

D. The Revolution in Russia.

F. The Constitution of the Czecho-Slovaks.

G. The Peoples' War.

READINGS: Bryce and others, *The War of Democracy;* Seton-Watson and others, *The War and Democracy.*

VII. THE WAR AND DIPLOMACY:

1. "Open Covenants" of peace.
2. Publication of all treaties.
3. The undemocratic character of secret diplomacy.
4. Proposed abolition of secret diplomacy.

READINGS: Lippmann, *The Stakes of Diplomacy.*

VIII. GOVERNMENT AND LIBERTY; THE STATE AND THE CITIZEN:

1. Contemporary ideals of liberty of the citizen.
2. The democratic ideal contrasted with the Bolshevist. The position of the individual under the Bolshevist regime.
3. Abridgement of liberty in war-time.
4. The war and prohibition.
5. Personal liberty and the performance of social functions by the government.
6. Personal liberty and class liberty.

READINGS: Giddings, *Democracy and Empire;* Todd, *Theories of Social Progress;* Olgin, *The Soul of the Russian Revolution;* Zimmern, *Nationality and Government.*

IX. GOVERNMENT AND NATIONALISM; TERRITORIAL SETTLEMENT AND THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION:

1. Difference between "State" and "Nation."
2. Should the state and the nation be coterminous?
3. Right of the individuals and of peoples to select the sovereignty under which they are to live:
   a. Theoretical and practical aspects of this right of self-determination.
   b. Does the principle apply to people and territory of victorious countries or merely to proposed changes of territorial status?

c. What is to be done with unassimilable minorities?

4. Practical difficulties in satisfying national aspirations; necessity of avoiding settlements like that of 1871 with respect to Alsace-Lorraine.
5. Differences between the spirit and facts of American nationality and those of European nationalities.

Readings: Zimmern, *Nationality and Government;* Muir, *Nationalism and Internationalism;* Dominian, *The Frontiers of Language and Nationality in Europe;* Toynbee, *Nationality and the War;* Zangwill, *The Principle of Nationalities.*

X. Government and Imperialism:

1. Government, expansion, and patriotism.
2. The economic forces behind modern imperialism.
3. Contemporary opinion respecting imperialism; the demand that imperial settlement shall have as the first consideration the interests and wishes of the people involved. The right of self-determination and imperialism.
4. Imperial preference and peace.

Readings: Lord Milner, *The Nation and the Empire;* Hobson, *Imperialism;* Muir, *The Expansion of Europe,* 201-290.

XI. Government and Its Relation to Labor, Capital, and Industry:

A. The functions of government in relation to economic life:
   1. The maintenance of order (negative and protective).
   2. Promotion of general well-being (positive and constructive).

B. Contemporary revision of theories of governmental intervention:
   1. War emergency legislation: Food and fuel control; price fixing and priorities; regulation of wages, hours and conditions of labor; embargoes; etc.

2. Governmental agencies for the settlement of disputes between capital and labor.
3. The problem of the government as employer.

C. The position of women in economic life.

READINGS: Zimmern, *Nationality and Government,* 172-298; Earl of Cromer and others, *After the War Problems,* 111-215; Seligman, *Principles of Economics,* Ch. 35; Bullock, *Introduction to the Study of Economics,* Ch. 16; Clark, Hamilton, and Moulton, *Readings in the Economics of War.*

XII. DEMOCRACY, SOCIALISM, BOLSHEVISM; MAJORITY CONTROL VERSUS CLASS CONTROL:

A. Aspects of the war: The force of democracy; the force of autocracy; the force of the radical revolution and Bolshevism.
   1. In the overthrow of autocracy, democracy and Bolshevism left as the divergent principles.
   2. Political theories of the Bolsheviki.

B. Democracy and labor; socialistic legislation.

READINGS: Russell, *Unchained Russia;* Olgin, *The Soul of the Russian Revolution;* Trotzky, *Our Revolution;* .....*The Bolsheviki and World Peace.*

XIII. GOVERNMENT AND ITS RELATION TO EDUCATION AND NATIONAL HEALTH:

1. The problem of illiteracy.
2. The control and management of educational agencies in larger units; coöperation of local and national powers; the Smith Bill in the United States.
3. Contemporary reforms in compulsory education in England and France.
4. Child welfare.
5. Government and national and international epidemics.

READINGS: Dewey, *Democracy and Education.*

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THE BUREAU OF EXTENSION
CHAPEL HILL, N. C.

RECONSTRUCTION AND CITIZENSHIP

I. The University and the New Task of Democracy

The great war is over and America turns once more to the ways of peace. It does so with a grateful heart, but it does so, too, with a full realization of the fact that, though a victory has been won, the end of the struggle is not yet. It has striven among nations in an ideal cause and it intends that the triumph of that cause shall be complete. Already the mind of America is bent upon new tasks and purposes, the accomplishment of which may make the war, with all its horrors, seem a blessing. The general name which we have chosen for these tasks is reconstruction, and by reconstruction we mean not alone the restoration of the damage of war, but a triumphant assault on all the problems of democracy old and new, as these problems have defined themselves to a vision wonderfully sharpened by our great experience. As a consequence of the war a momentous change has taken place in our national life and thought. Old ways of thinking and acting have been broken up; a new consciousness has been won of America's destinies and aims; and a new spirit has been born in the whole people of devotion to the common good. The existence of this new spirit is the most important fact in our national life today. The problem is how to conserve it without loss, and how to turn it, intelligently, from the work of destruction to the work of rebuilding civilization on a new and better basis throughout the world.

GREAT TASKS BEFORE US

Resolved as we are not to return to an outworn past, we realize the greatness of the task before us; we realize also that it is not by willing alone that is to be accomplished, but by a clear understanding of its nature and a calmly reasoned calculation of the means by which the transformation to which we look is to be brought about. It is the function of intellectual leadership to turn all its energies to the illumination of the task of American democracy at peace.

WHAT HAS BEEN WON MUST NOT BE LOST

In this fact we see a new and splendid opportunity for our

educational institutions. They must make sure first of all that nothing which has been won is lost. To that end they must emphasize the lessons of the past and give to all their instruction a new vitality by bringing it powerfully to bear upon the present. They must be willing, too, to pass beyond their academic bounds and reach the mass of people in whose voice decision rests and by whose hands alone the victories of peace are to be wrought. No school is too humble and no great university too proud to enter the arena and fight with the rest to make reason and righteousness prevail.

For the achievement of this purpose there are many means. The University of North Carolina, as it devoted itself wholeheartedly to the winning of the war, proposes now to use all its instrumentalities, with no less energy, in the cause of peace. This is, indeed, and always has been its true function. In the way of material assistance during the war it could do nothing but offer its equipment and give up its sons; by continuing to find out and teach the truth, it could do much more. For the guidance of the community in the period of reconstruction the University conceives itself to be even better fitted. The end of the war has greatly increased the range and scope of the national problems, as old interests held in abeyance by the imperative necessity of winning the war, revive. Thus all branches of University instruction are again called into service.

UNIVERSITY PRESENTS PROGRAM

As a program of the University's extension activities for the present year there is presented here, first a brief statement of some of the great problems which challenge the thought and effort of American leadership today and toward the solution of which the University wishes to make a contribution, second a list of the various organs through which the University's extension work is carried out.

II. Problems of the Reconstruction Period

I. POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Of all the changes and reforms that ought to follow the war, those in government necessarily take first place, since government is perhaps properly to be regarded as the most important social institution in human life. In this connection it is well to remember that however the war started it became a people's war —upon them its chief terror and tragedy fell—and that it will be a thing of essential right and justice that governments in the future shall in fact, as well as in theory and profession, be the people's common possession and instrument. What sort of institutions are to accompany the spread of democracy in the world?

Three political forces clearly appeared in the war: autocracy, democracy, and Bolshevism. In ultimate analysis, the war became a contest between the forces of democracy and its ethical and political opposite—autocracy; the former won and the latter was discredited and probably will be outlawed. This result has left democracy and Bolshevism face to face as divergent political principles. Between them, the issue has already joined. All three must be studied if the problems of after the war are to be settled with an enlightened regard to permanence.

II. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

In the field of international politics the supreme necessity of the time is that, since the war has become a people's war, there must be a people's peace. To achieve a peace of right and justice is not only a work of good will and high purpose, but it involves the establishment, possibly the creation, of institutions that will function with results that will square with these ideals. The present war, among many other things, has borne into the American mind with all the force of a self-evident fact that our old isolation is gone. The United States can never again for long stand aloof from Europe; for, although we may say that we shall ignore the problems of Europe, those problems, as we now have abundant evidence, will not ignore us.

What policies then shall guide the United States at the Peace Congress and in the future? President Wilson has expressed in

general and, of course, in eloquent terms what he as the responsible head of the government advises. On their constructive side his desires may be summarized as: a peace of justice and righteousness which shall not have in it provocation of future wars; the abolition of secret diplomacy; the formation of a league of democratic nations to make the peace enduring; the settlement of questions of territory by application of the principle of nationality and the right of self-determination; and the guarantee of the freedom of the seas alike in war and in peace. This program is based on lofty idealism and on the hope that the agony of this war may not be experienced again in another of like extent and kind. It has, however, met with opposition in America from many classes of politicians, statesmen, and thinkers. There are those who are ready to make a separate peace with Germany and promptly to return to the principle of Washington and Jefferson. We should then be able to assert that we have no more concern with European affairs as we did after the War of 1812. There are those who consider this the Allies' war and who look on Mr. Wilson as attempting to dictate peace terms and as meddling in affairs not his own. They would be ready, apparently, to accept the peace arranged by the allies. Either of these plans would give the United States a free hand to arm itself against future aggression of whatever sort and would permit us to go back to first principles. Ignoring the factious political opposition there are those who reject the Wilson plan on the ground that it is vague and indefinite. There are others who claim that the administrative problems of such a peace are impossible of solution as the world is now organized, that the league of nations—the keystone of the whole Wilson structure—will fail if the nations persist in their claims to unlimited sovereignty. Such, in brief, is the problem that is fraught with large possibilities for the world and must be studied in detail and in serious earnest by the American democracy.

III. INDUSTRY AND ECONOMICS

In our economic and industrial life, the war has brought a shock and diversion of man-power and materials which will require careful thought and planning to bring back into harmonious order. It has revealed an intricacy of organization and delicate-

ness of structure and awkwardness in functioning in our ways of making a living that impresses upon us the importance of reforms in the direction of a larger, fairer and more efficient life. The war, too, has brought us into a world position commercially—as it has politically—which carries with it opportunities and responsibilities in international trade and industry which will require most careful study and planning.

Economics has become much more than a body of academic theories. The average citizen has discovered that his daily task and sustenance have a definite reach into the living issues of national and world affairs. The shivering householder realizes the importance of coal distribution. The registrant before a draft board finds new and broad relations in industrial organization which may make his removal from his job the act of a traitor, because his work reaches to the battle front. Two pounds of sugar a month and wheatless days innumerable have convinced us that patriotism is as much a matter of industrial arrangements and habits as waving the flag. We are beginning to believe that a strike in industry may be more disastrous to the well being of the nation than the retreat of an army; and the statesmen are learning that laborers exploited and peasants mad with hunger in Russia may constitute a more serious and subtle menace to civilization than the armed and disciplined hosts of an autocrat. In soberer moments of critical reflection, the thought is born that perhaps democracy in political relations requires for its complete realization democracy in the more intimate and stubborn every day task of making a living.

IV. RURAL LIFE PROBLEMS IN NORTH CAROLINA

Two conditions profoundly revolutionary in country life have been created by the Great War: (1) the decrease of farm labor, and (2) the increase of food values. The results immediate and remote are almost infinite in variety and they affect life and business in town and country regions alike. What effect will these two causes in combination have upon the country life of the state and the nation? Shall we, for example, have an increase of wilderness areas in North Carolina, and a dwindling, disappearing agriculture? Or will our vast uncultivated domain be reclaimed for food crops produced by abundant horse and ma-

chine power, and for livestock farming on a domestic scale, a few meat and milk animals on every farm?

The first effect will surely follow unless our farmers have, or can thriftily accumulate from the present high price of foodstuffs, enough capital to establish cotton and tobacco farming on a bread-and-meat basis. But we can hardly hope for any radical change in our agriculture, without a tremendous increase in country intelligence, and in organized production, purchase, salesmanship, and credit in our farm regions.

At present 95 per cent of our white illiteracy and near-illiteracy is in the countryside. Are our country people equal to an increase of two and half million dollars raised by local taxation for six months' schools? If not, our sparsely settled country dwellers are foredoomed to a static or a stagnant civilization. In which event, the cityward drift of country people in North Carolina will be immensely accelerated; farm lands will decrease in value, or farm land sales will cease, and we shall be 'land poor' once more; aspiring, alert country people will move into our 500 villages, towns, and small cities, while the dull and unalert will remain on the land; country homes will be dreary and lonely country schools will be lifeless and uninspiring, and country churches will decay.

Here in brief are acute after-the-war problems which North Carolina as a rural state now faces, and which must be solved in the main by our country people. If we cannot or will not make up our minds to attack them courageously then we must be content to trail in the rear in the forward march of American states.

V. SOCIAL AGENCIES AND INSTITUTIONS

The organized social agencies of the United States—public, semi-public, and private—are already some 500 in kind, and they multiply like mushrooms overnight. They are all without avail unless they inform and stimulate our fundamental social institutions—the home, the school, the church, the state—to rise to higher and higher levels of life. What, then, is the level of our social institutions today and what will it be tomorrow? The North Carolina people are drifting out of country conditions into town and factory centers. Will the social institutions of town life in North Carolina be equal to the increased burdens of

social responsibility? Will our country civilization survive the wholesale loss of country population? Will the increased value of farm products and the sudden prosperity of the countryside mean country homes with more comforts, convenience and luxuries, country churches better supported and better adjusted to country life, a larger willingness to vote local taxes for better teachers, a larger measure of intelligence and courage spent upon law and order, and a more efficient civic service in county affairs? Shall we be coarsened or ennobled by the enormous increase of wealth in North Carolina during these four years of war? The support we give to our social institutions, to our civic agencies of public welfare, and our social agencies of well-being will swiftly tell the tale. And the gait we strike this first year of the new peace era will be bright with hope or black with despair for long years to come.

VI. THE FUTURE STATUS OF AMERICAN WOMEN

The demands of the war on the activities of the women of the belligerent nations have been one of the interesting features of the war chronicle. The reaction of war on the status of women is one of the most serious and at the same time one of the most hopeful problems of the reconstruction period. Surprising changes have taken place, almost over night, in the social, economic, and political condition of women because of the necessities of war. These emergency measures are full of significance as effecting the future relation of women to industry, to politics, to public welfare and to the development of the race. Which of these will be permanent, which are desirable, and how should public opinion be directed in order to safeguard the highest interests of women? This is the problem of today. How to overcome the evils incident to a time of war, and how to preserve the benefits which may be evolved from it, is the task of the present for the sake of the future. As a nation we shall not have gained that complete freedom for which we have paid so great a price unless the aftermath of war is directed for the good of the mothers of men. If in a time of peace, the women of our own country and section can be impelled to continue to put forth their finest efforts, and through better organization, and

by means of definite and scientific training in all useful lines be made more efficient as workers and more responsible as citizens, the war will not have been fought in vain. Women will have greater joy in living and will put more enthusiasm into the common as well as the greater tasks when old time standards as to health, efficiency, and responsibility have been discarded and new ones substituted based on the high water mark reached under patriotic pressure. Democracy will be safe in America and all over the world when women have enlarged their conception of service, have broadened their intellectual outlook, and have come into their own as coworkers in times of peace as well as in the stress of war.

VII. PUBLIC HEALTH

The war has brought forcibly to notice the need of a more careful attention by the community as a whole to the physical welfare of its citizens. The number of registrants rejected for physical reasons in the draft was appalling. The grim facts regarding the prevalence of tuberculosis and other scourges have been thrust upon us. More lately the influenza epidemic, revealing the helplessness of our communities in such an emergency, has produced a demand for common action in providing for the training of nurses and doctors sufficient in numbers to handle similar situations. Meanwhile the movement for home nursing and district nursing, and for the establishment of adequate health supervision in every community has gathered strength. The time is ripe for action and we cannot be blind to the opportunity for educational work along these lines.

VIII. EDUCATION

There has come to the American people during the past few months a revelation of educational conditions which few had recognized and still fewer had even begun to realize. The incredible mental, intellectual status of our citizens has come home to us with a shock. Having left the task of educating our boys and girls largely to purely local, or at most to state support and management we have rested content in the firm belief that these two agencies could and did perform the task of training up our citizenry with a very tolerable degree of success. The draft re-

vealed conditions worse than anyone had anticipated and it becomes clear that the complacency about our public school system as it is was ill-founded.

We shall need, therefore, immediately to seek the causes and the remedy for this gross ignorance and mental indifference revealed by the machinery of the selective draft. Discussion, reading and study may well center around such topics as: public education and Americanization as a great national task; the public school as the essential tool of democracy; a twofold process of cultural and vocational training.

IX. CULTURE

One of the greatest assets which has come to America from the war is the knowledge that it was fought and won, in the last analysis, with spiritual powers and for a spiritual end. It has, to quote a recent utterance of President Wilson's, "not only been a war between nations, but it has been also a war between systems and cultures—the one system the aggressive system; using science without conscience, stripping learning of its moral restraints and using every faculty of the human mind to do wrong to the whole race; the other system reminiscent of the high traditions of men; reminiscent of all their struggles, some of them obscure, but others clearly revealed to history, of men of indomitable spirit everywhere struggling toward the right and seeking above all else to be free." It is the task of culture to carry on the spiritual battle, leading men through knowledge to a full realization of the ideal aims of human life. Having once learned the priceless worth of morale we shall no longer be inclined to underestimate those liberal studies which create it. The cultural problem of the present is to perpetuate and complete the spiritual awakening of America by making current in her national life the great ideals which are the heritage of her past. To do so, we must give fresh vitality to the records of man's higher nature in history, literature and art. We must prepare, also, for living forms of expression of the spirit of new America, particularly, it may be, through a rebirth of the older communal arts, such as pageantry, community music, and community drama, which stir the imagination to a higher civic consciousness, to a greater social unity, to a finer fellowship.

X. THE PRACTICE OF LIVING

The task of rebuilding civilization comes down in the end to the individual, for civilization is but the extension of the single life. If we are to remake the world we must first remake ourselves; if wars are to cease on earth the disposition to make war must be eradicated from mankind. We turn, therefore, to the practice of daily living, as offering the problem which underlies all others. Men and women are born to live and if they give themselves a chance they can succeed in the practice of life as well as they succeed in the practice of making a living or of making war. To become aware of this rich, ultimate fact is the fundamental need of our time. In every community individuals could do no finer thing than to come together for conference in order to secure a vision of the meaning of life, to study the secret of great lives, to show how knowledge thus obtained can be applied to minutest details of one's own daily experience.

III. Forms of University Extension Service

I. COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS UNDER UNIVERSITY GUIDANCE

A. The University will assist any community in the formation of a general organization for the education of its citizens in the problems of American Democracy at Peace.

B. It will provide such centers, when organized, with groups of lectures by members of its faculty, representative of the body of knowledge taught in its regular courses, but adapted to the needs and interests of popular gatherings, and made to bear as directly as possible on living questions of local and national importance.

C. To supplement its own instruction it will send from time to time outside speakers of distinction to such centers as have an educational program in successful operation.

D. It will co-operate in the endeavor to rouse communal enthusiasm by the promotion of public celebrations and other expressions of the community spirit.

E. It will co-operate with community centers or other organizations in any line of public activity in which it is competent to give advice.

II. EDUCATIONAL CO-OPERATION WITH SPECIAL ORGANIZATIONS

The University will send lecturers on a wide variety of topics to such organizations as men's clubs, women's clubs, Y.M.C.A.'s, Sunday School organizations, etc. It will also give suggestions for group study and will provide reading lists, outlines and other materials for work.

III. READERS' SERVICE

This service undertakes to furnish through the University Library, the faculty co-operating, information as to books of general and special interest and articles on various subjects relating to the problems above stated, furnishing small package libraries on phases of the late war and on the great questions which are up for public consideration at the present time, insofar as possible lending books and acting as a distributing agency for putting Government and other publications on reconstruction in the hands of interested readers.

IV. DIRECT PUBLICITY IN THE REASON FOR AND METHODS OF MAKING A BETTER DEMOCRACY

A. Special articles by members of the faculty in journals of education and the like, and special leaflets to be issued by the Extension Service and sent to public school teachers and other persons influential in their local communities.

B. *The University News Letter.* (A weekly clip sheet published by the University designed to furnish to the press and to individuals information on all topics affecting the welfare of the State.)

C. Debate subjects and outlines, composition subjects, patriotic programs for school exercises, and celebrations, community gatherings, etc.

VOL. II—No. 7 MARCH, 1919

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA EXTENSION LEAFLETS

STUDIES IN THE SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL CONDITION OF WOMEN AS AFFECTED BY THE WAR

BY
MRS. THOMAS W. LINGLE
OF THE DIVISION FOR WOMEN

AFTER-THE-WAR INFORMATION SERIES No. 2

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THE BUREAU OF EXTENSION
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LESSONS FROM THE WAR

"The dramatic and compelling pressures of war have ruthlessly uncovered many of the shortcomings and some of the failures of peace. The deficiencies and inadequacies that were known to a few or passed over in silence before the war have been forced to the startled attention of the entire nation because of the war. Now that the period of pressure is past and the war is over, thoughtful men and women of the world are setting themselves to the task of restoration, of correction, and of addition so that these humiliating revelations may no longer and never again characterize the institutions and the practices of peace. The war will not and cannot be wholly won until its important lessons are applied for the benefit of peace."—Hon. Josephus Daniels, *Secretary of the Navy.*

"Immensely actual will be the whole range of social and economic and industrial problems which will press for solution as soon as peace comes. In getting ready for them, not a day should be lost. We are far behind England and France in the preparations made. What is to come after the war will demand more brain-power and more energy of will than the war itself. We are face to face with the breaking up of the fountains of the great deep in our whole modern life; and if there be any wisdom, any foresight, any virtue of statesmanship which we can command, they ought at once to be put in a posture of readiness for the emergent need."—*New York Evening Post.*

"The war has taught us many things, among them that it is not efficient for a nation to overwork or underpay its wage-earners, to tolerate preventable accident and disease, to squander labor power through unemployment. The mind as well as the heart of the country has been stirred by the crisis we have just passed through, and there is on many sides a disposition to see that the hard and wasteful conditions of the past shall not again obtain. Not a return to the old, but progress to the new is the keynote of genuine Reconstruction."—John B. Andrews.

STUDIES IN THE SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL CONDITION OF WOMEN AS AFFECTED BY THE WAR

The demands of the war on the activities of the women of the belligerent nations have made an interesting feature of the war chronicle. The reaction of war on the status of women is one of the most serious and at the same time one of the most hopeful problems of the reconstruction period. Surprising changes have taken place in the social, economic and political condition of women because of the necessities of war. Emergency measures have been taken for their protection which are full of significance as affecting the future relation of women to industry, to politics, to public welfare and to the development of the race. Which of these will be permanent, which are desirable, and how should public opinion be directed in order to safeguard the highest interests of women? This is the problem of today. How to overcome the evils incident to a time of war, and how to preserve the benefits which may be evolved from it is the task of the present for the sake of the future.

As a nation we shall not have gained that complete freedom for which we have paid so great a price unless the aftermath of war is directed to the good of the mothers of men. If in an era of peace the women of our own country and section can be encouraged to continue to put forth their finest efforts, and through better organization, and by means of definite and scientific training in all useful industries, be made more efficient as workers and more responsible as citizens, the war will not have been fought in vain. Women will have greater joy in living and will put more enthusiasm into the common as well as the greater tasks when former standards of health, efficiency, and responsibility have been discarded and new ones substituted based on the high level reached under patriotic pressure. Democracy will be safer in America and all over the world when women have enlarged their conception of service, have broadened their intellectual outlook and have come into their own as co-workers and co-thinkers in times of peace as well as in the stress of war.

The complete story of the influence which the war has had directly and indirectly on the thought and activities of American

women can only be written when more complete war work data has been collected, and when we are further removed from the reactions which are now taking place in woman's relation to the home, the factory, the office and the world of politics. There is no cause for alarm in these new relations, many of them have only been hastened by the war demands. The fundamental things in the life of the family and of the community bind woman so securely that she will readjust herself almost automatically to the new conditions. There is, however, the possibility of gaining much or losing much ground at this time. The momentum gained under war pressure may be directed toward securing lasting benefits or it may be allowed to expend itself on insignificant and undesirable trivialities. Women who look seriously upon their approaching enfranchisement will want to take this time to consider the relation of their special activities during the war to their continuous patriotic service to the state and the nation as responsible citizens.

This brief outline has been prepared in answer to a request from the women of the State and the section for a reference guide for reading and studying. It is intended for individuals and groups of men and women interested in social problems, and may be expanded and used as a club program for a six months period. The references are to the latest contributions on the several topics. Many standard works on social and industrial problems are not listed, but a study of them will throw much light on the principles involved. On the other hand, news items from the daily press and current periodicals will furnish striking illustrations of the tendencies indicated here. The University Library is supplied with some of the references listed under each of the topics and will loan books, clippings, and bulletins on request.

Clara Souther Lingle.

OUTLINE FOR STUDY

THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STATUS OF WOMEN IN THE RECONSTRUCTION PROGRAM

INTRODUCTION

Pre-War Status of Women

I. War necessity makes patriotic demands on woman power and opens new fields of action.
II. Women respond with enthusiasm, and are recognized as a factor in the economic problem.
III. Causes of inefficiency to be found in unscientific education and in over-individualism.
IV. Emergency measures for the protection of women in war time.
V. Permanent effects of these changes and means for securing the best results in the peace program.

PRE-WAR STATUS

Up to the time of the outbreak of the war the women of America, as well as of the European countries, had been gradually outgrowing their limitations (educational, vocational, and political) and were slowly finding their way into a variety of occupations. New industries and professions were opening to them as assistants and beginners, and political rights were little by little being granted to them.

Public opinion in America was divided on this question between the advanced feminists, who demanded not only equal but identical opportunities with men, and the reactionaries who clung to the "home and mother" theory for all women. Between these two, and disregarding the great mass of indifferent women as well as men, there was a growing group of thinkers led by students of economics and history who were not out of touch with actual life. The leaders of this group are interested in working out a consistent program for the rational development of women along lines paralleling those pursued by men. Founded on a broad scientific basis of education,

such a program would place no barriers on women as workers or as citizens.

To all such students and observers, the recent social and economic developments wrought by the war as they affect the status of women must be full of significance, and a study of the effects of such changes is opportune in order that the impulse started by economic and patriotic necessity in war time may be turned to permanent results not only for the betterment of women but of the race in the peace period that follows the war upheaval.

THE DEMANDS OF WAR

The stress of war with its new demands on woman power and the consequent reaction on the part of women may be roughly grouped under the following headings:

1. As consumer and as conserver, the woman in the home has been recognized as an important factor in the food production problem. Women have been expected for the first time to grasp the relation of the family table to the world-wide problems of supply and demand.

2. The home work of women which had been individual and personal began to be systematized and standardized. (Town bakeries, community kitchens, uniform clothing, hygienic cleaning, household budgets, neighborhood kindergartens, etc.)

3. As a patriotic duty, women were urged to fill places in the industrial world and to release men for active service. Thousands responded to the call, some risked life and health, and all received wages and consideration never given to women as servants, teachers, or clerks. Women of the "leisure class" responded to the patriotic impulse with time, money, and talent as readily as wage-earners.

4. Industries and professions not hitherto considered suitable for women were opened to them and they proved their ability as truck drivers, railroad operators, munition workers, ship-builders, bank clerks, farm hands, and office managers.

5. Women offered to go to the front, and out of the unprepared volunteers, thousands received intensive training and were sent as telephone and telegraph operators, and for nursing, stenography, motor driving, and canteen service.

THE RESPONSE AND FITNESS OF WOMEN

To all these demands, women who had resisted war with racial intenseness responded with a surprising disregard of the fetters that had been supposed to bind them mind and body to the four walls of the home. Looseness of organization, disregard for team spirit, lack of special training, personal inefficiency, and ignorance of larger issues were the principal drawbacks in getting the best results from the "woman's army."

EMERGENCY MEASURES

Steps were taken for the protection of women in war time which may be summarized: *a.* Community officials and military authorities combined in measures to protect and restrict women and girls near camp centers; (*b*) Legislation was enacted in many states aiming to protect women workers from the dangers of munition manufacture and special industries, of factory life, unsanitary cooking and sleeping, long hours and night work, and from occupations detrimental to motherhood.

A PROGRAM FOR A TIME OF PEACE

What will be the permanent effects of these changes on the women of America in the social and economic reconstruction following the war period? How can women become more efficient as wage-earners, as citizens, as specialists, as conservers of public health, as home-makers, as mothers? As regards women, how can the evil effects of the war be overcome and the benefits that have been evolved be inaugurated in the peace program?

1. By a fuller appreciation of the rights of motherhood, and by more scientific care of child-life, beginning with the period of infancy, and safeguarding the child in school and in industry.

2. By getting social forces to unite with the Federal bureau in the educational campaign to wipe out social evils and diseases in civil as in military life.

3. By raising the health standards for women through physical training and corrective gymnastics, and by providing outdoor recreation for girls and women.

4. By the addition of vocational courses to the grammar school curriculum, the adaptation of science courses in the high school

to the avocations of women, and by the establishment of state vocational schools fitting women for expert work in a variety of industries.

5. By instruction in the duties of citizenship and in the intelligent exercise of the franchise.

6. By raising social standards through legislative action: uniform divorce laws, health marriage certificates, desertion and abandonment laws, mothers' pensions, and health inspection for factories and public institutions, with supervision of the living conditions of rural children and of women in industry.

7. By creating a "community conscience" as regards public health and well-being, lining up the women's organizations in a campaign for individual efficiency and effective public service, beginning in the local community.

8. By recognition of the right of women in industry to organize, and to representation in labor organizations in which they participate. By state enactment of minimum wage laws, health and social insurance, and enforcement of the principle of equal pay for equal work.

9. By a study of efficiency in the household, aiming to promote right living for the whole family through the intelligent direction of the home-maker, trained in the duties of household management, the selection and preparation of foods, buying and care of clothes, the principles of saving and investing, the household budget, and the promotion of the higher life in the family as a circle.

10. By scientific methods of handling girl and women offenders directed toward correctional rather than punitive treatment.

Material for study along the line of these ten suggestions is listed under the following corresponding headings. Many closely related problems will present themselves to the student and the social worker. A supplementary study should be made of the laws now in force or under consideration relating to the well-being of girls and women in industry in the home state. In North Carolina, information on any particular point can be obtained from Mr. Roland F. Beasley, Commissioner of Public Welfare, Raleigh, N. C., or from Miss Gertrude Weil, President of the State Equal Suffrage League, Goldsboro. In other states from the corresponding officials.

I. SAFEGUARDS FOR MOTHERS AND INFANTS

"The opening of many industries and occupations to women, which is apparently to be a consequence of the enlistment of women in new employments during the war, emphasizes the need of more attention to the phenomena of delayed marriage, reduced birth rate, and higher infant mortality which are likely to result from the employment of multitudes of women in the indoor machinery industries. The diffusion of the knowledge of the elements of personal and community hygiene through all classes of society is the best means of reducing infant mortality."—Charles W. Eliot.

References:

"Prenatal Care," by Mrs. Max West, Children's Bureau, Washington, D. C.

"Campaign to Save 100,000 Babies," by Mrs. H. S. Bullenheim, in *American City*, March, 1918.

"Public Protection of Maternity," by J. Lathrop, in *American Labor Legislation Review*, March, 1917.

"Democracy and Child Labor," by Felix Adler, in *Child Labor Bulletin*, May, 1917.

"Measures of Protection for Working Mothers in France," in U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, July, 1917.

"France Adopts Her War Orphans," by A. W. Towne, in *Survey*, October 6, 1917.

"Infant Welfare in War Time," by G. L. Meigs, in *Proceedings*, National Conference of Social Work, 1917, pages 192-206.

"Maternity Protection," by Irene O. Andrews, in *American Legislation Review*, December, 1918.

Publications on this subject by the National League for Woman's Service, Washington, D. C. The following publications are provocative of thought but are not necessarily to be accepted as guides.

"Durable Monogamous Wedlock," by J. E. Cutler, in *American Journal of Sociology*, September, 1916.

"Birth Rate and Empire," by James Morehaut, London, Williams and Norgate, 1918.

"War and the Sexes," by Helen Key, in *Atlantic Monthly*, June, 1916.

"What is Coming? A European Forecast," by H. G. Wells, New York, Macmillan, 1916.

"War and the Breed; the Relation of War to the Downfall of Nations," by D. S. Jordan, Boston, Beacon Press, 1915.

II. SOCIAL HYGIENE AND MORALITY

"The American government is the only one in the world which thus far has undertaken to defend modern society effectively against the scourges which punish with crushing severity lust, prostitution, and alcoholism in combination. . . . The American public sees that the venereal diseases can be permanently reduced or restricted only through the use of every possible educational influence which the entire community can exert."—CHARLES W. ELIOT.

REFERENCES:

"Girls and Khaki," by W. D. Lane, in *Survey*, December 1, 1917.

"Girlhood and Character," by Mary E. Moxcey, the Woman's Press, New York City.

"Venereal Disease in the Army, Navy, and Community," by Bishop William Laurence, issued by the American Social Hygiene Association, 105 W. 40th Street, New York City.

"Backing Up the Government," series of leaflets issued by the Social Morality Committee of the War Work Council of the Y. W. C. A., 600 Lexington Avenue, New York City.

"Next Steps," by Major Bascom Johnson, Commission on Training Camp Activities, War Department, Washington, D. C.

"The Christian Approach to Social Morality" (a discussion of social education in sex morality from the Christian and scientific point of view), by Richard C. Cabot, M.D., the Woman's Press, New York City.

III. HEALTH THROUGH PLAY AND RECREATION

"After the present year (1918) no high school should permit a diploma to be conferred upon a boy with a remediable defect, the same program (of physical correction) should be put into effect for girls."—U. S. SMALL, *Specialist in School Hygiene, U. S. Bureau of Education.*

"Recreations for young people must not be suppressed but must be supervised; for it is essential to work and wholesome living."—JULIA LATHROP, National Conference Social Work, 1918.

REFERENCES:

"Public Schools and Municipal Neighborhood Recreation Centers," by H. O. Berg, in *American City*, January 1917.

"Education Through Play," by H. S. Curtis, N. Y. Macmillan, 1915. (Play as an attempt to solve the problem of juvenile delinquency.)

The Playground Magazine and pamphlets published by the Playground and Recreation Association of America, 1 Madison Ave., New York City.

"A Community Recreation Program for Juveniles," by Geo. A. Bellamy in National Conference Social Work, 1918.

"Health and Recreation," Chapter XVII in "Your Vote and How to Use It," by Mrs. Raymond Brown, Harper's, New York City.

"Physical Betterment—the Function of the State," Chapter V in "Fair Play for the Workers," by Percy Stickney Grant, Moffat, Yard & Co., New York City.

IV. VOCATIONAL TRAINING

"Vocational education which combines practical, intensive work in industrial subjects with instruction in related and general academic subjects, is the best preparation for self-support."

References:

"Defects in American Education Revealed by the War," by Charles W. Eliot, in *School and Society*, January 4, 1919.

"The Vocational Guidance Movement," by J. M. Brewer, Macmillan, New York City.

"Our Schools in War Time and After," by A. D. Dean, Ginn & Co., New York City, 1918.

"Education After the War," in *Educational Review*, January 1919, page 84.

"Educational Preparedness for After the War," in *Journal* of the National Institute of Social Science, 1918, pages 129-136.

"Democracy's Educational Problem," by C. H. Van Tyne, 1918.

"The Fitness of Vocations," Chapter IV in Social Antagonisms by Arland D. Weeks, McClurg, Chicago.

"Vocational Education," published by the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education, 140 W. 42d St., New York City.

"Vocational Civics, a Study of Occupations as a Background for the Consideration of a Life Career," by Imogene K. Giles, Macmillan, New York City.

V. EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP

"It is one thing for women to win the vote and a totally different one for them to know how to use that vote so that it will count to the greatest good of the state. The keynote of woman's long struggle for the ballot has been her desire for service. Now that she has been given the vote, she is eager to learn how she can best render that service."—Carrie Chapman Catt.

References:

"The Young Woman Citizen," by Mary Austin, $1.35, Woman's Press, 600 Lexington Avenue, New York City.

"The Woman Citizen," by Mary Sumner Boyd, New York, Fred A. Stokes, 1919, $1.50. (Handbook of instruction for women voters.)

"Instruction and Practice in the Duties of Citizenship," by Arthur W. Dunn, *Bulletin* of the War Board of Education.

"War and Woman Suffrage," by N. M. Schoonmaker, in *Outlook*, October 10, 1917.

Address to Congress by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, in the Woman Suffrage Year Book, 1917.

"The New Voter," by Chas. Willis Thompson, Putnam, 1918, New York City, $1.50.

"Organized Women and Civics," in *National Municipal Review*, July 1918.

"Women and the Franchise," by Josephine Schain, A. C. McClurg, Chicago, 1918.

"Citizenship, An Introduction to Social Ethics," by David Snedden. (An excellent text-book with chapters on many of the topics suggested in this outline.) World Book Co., 1917.

"Preparing Women for Citizenship," by Mrs. Helen Robinson, Macmillan, 1918, New York City, $1.00.

"The Woman Citizen," by Horace Adelbert Hollister, Appleton, New York City, 1918, $1.75. (A class book for students emphasizing the new ideals of education for citizenship.)

"Your Vote and How to Use It," by Mrs. Raymond Brown, Harpers, 1918, New York City, $0.75. (A text-book for women who want to vote to the best advantage.)

"Selected Articles on Woman Suffrage," compiled by Edith M. Phelps in the Debaters Hand Book Series, H. W. Wilson Co., New York City.

VI. LEGISLATION FOR THE PROTECTION OF WOMEN WORKERS

"For women workers, the problem during the period of readjustment is to find new means of enforcement of standards which have received authoritative sanction from the nation at war."—John Spargo.

References:

A compilation of State Labor Laws relating to Female and Child Labor will be found in "Woman's Work in War Time," published by the Merchants National Bank, Boston, 1917. (Booklet, on request.)

"Keeping Up Industrial Standards," in *Survey*, October 1917.

"Employment of Women," memoranda of December 12 and 19, 1918, and January 2, 1919, Council of National Defense, Washington, D. C.

"Health Insurance," three articles in the *American Labor Legislation Review*, December 1918.

"Social and Economic Legislation," by Jeremiah P. Young, McClurg, Chicago, $0.60.

"Women in War Industries," by Esther Norton, in *New Republic*, December 15, 1917.

"Review of Labor Legislation," in *American Labor Legislation Review*, September 1918.

Additional information on this topic can be obtained from the following agencies:

1. Woman in Industry Service, Department of Labor, Washington, D. C. Miss Mary Van Kleeck, Director.
2. Children's Bureau, Department of Labor, Washington, D. C. Miss Julia Lathrop, Chief. Children's Labor Division in above Bureau.
3. Bureau of Education, Department of the Interior.
4. The National Consumers League.
5. The Woman's Educational and Industrial Union, 264 Boylston Street, Boston.
6. Law Enforcement Division, Section on Women and Girls, Washington, D. C. (commission on Training Camp Activities, Mrs. Jane D. Rippin, Director).
7. Miss Maude E. Miner, 103 E. 22d Street, New York City.
8. The American Association for Labor Legislation, 131 E. 23d Street, New York City.
9. Industrial Committee, War Work Council of the Y. W. C. A., 600 Lexington Avenue, New York City.
10. *Special Libraries Magazine*, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City, January 1919. "Women and War Time Problems."

VII. COMMUNITY HEALTH AND WELFARE

"In the United States, women have entered many branches of industrial activity, but it must not be assumed that all this has been successfully accomplished without considerable reorganization and betterment of conditions generally. Not only must the question of employing women be dealt with but the reorganization necessary because of it must also be given consideration and dispatch. It is not physically possible for women to enter the various employments, for years conducted by men, without some changes."

References:

"The Status of Social Work in Rural Communities," by J. Ida Curry.

"Mobilizing the Local Community," in National Conference Social Work, 1918 vol., pages 458-468.

"The Great Social Lesson of the Organization of War Applied to the Problem of Peace," by W. J. Abbott, in *Outlook*, November 28, 1917.

"Community Center," John Collier, editor, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

"Community Center: What It is and How to Organize It," by H. E. Jackson, Macmillan, 1918, New York City. (See introduction.)

"What is Being Done to Promote the Principles of Universal Brotherhood in Communities," by S. M. Harrison, Russell Sage Foundation publication no. 27, $0.10.

"Rural Center of Community Activity," by Warren H. Wilson, in National Conference Social Work, 1918, page 485.

"The Work Accomplished by the Social Unit Organization," by Courtenay Dinwiddie, in National Conference Social Work, 1918, page 495.

"The Village as a Strategic Unit in Social Progress," by Paul L. Vogt, in National Conference Social Work, 1918, page 473.

"The American City," by Henry C. Wright, McClurg, Chicago.

"Home and Community Hygiene—a Text-book of Personal and Public Health," by Jean Broadhurst, Lippincott, Philadelphia. (A scientific handbook, popular in treatment, with chapters on Summer Camps, Industrial and Occupational Hygiene, Mental Hygiene, etc., "dedicated to the nurses, teachers, and mothers of America." Invaluable to civic and community leaders.

"Teaching Citizenship Via the Movies," Municipal Library, 1918, New York City, paper, $0.10.

VIII. WOMEN IN INDUSTRY—WAGES, HOURS, HEALTH INSURANCE, ETC.

"With the signing of the armistice, women in industry assumed a position in the public mind radically different from their status two weeks before."—MARY VAN KLEECK.

REFERENCES:

"Health Insurance, a Preventive Measure," by J. B. Andrews in *American City*, December, 1916.

"Is Health Insurance Coming?" the *Nation*, March 1, 1917.

"Fatigue and Efficiency," by J. Goldmark, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City.

"Remuneration for Women's Services," by E. F. Rathbone, in *Economic Journal*, March, 1917.

"Laws Affecting Women and Children," by Annie G. Porritt, National Suffrage Publishing Co., 171 Madison Avenue, New York City, $1.05.

"Educational Plans," by Margaret D. Robins, and other leaflets of the National Woman's Trade Union League of America, 139 N. Clark Street, Chicago.

"Labor Laws in War Time," and other numbers of *Bulletin* issued by the American Association for Labor Legislation, 131 E. 23d Street, New York City.

"The Woman's Land Army of America," by Ruth Dean, in *New Country Life*, March, 1918.

"Creative Impulse in Industry," by Helen Marot, Dutton, 1918, New York City, $0.50.

"Women Workers and Society," by Annie M. McLean, McClurg, Chicago, $0.60.

"Social Insurance in the United States," by Guerdon R. Miller, McClurg, Chicago. (Chapters on workman's accident compensation, health insurance, unemployment, old age support, social insurance, etc.)

"Fair Play for the Workers," chapters 6, 7 and 12, by Percy Stickney Grant, Moffat, Yard & Co., 1918, New York City.

"Federal Policies for Women in Industry," by Mary Van Kleeck, in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, January, 1919.

IX. EFFICIENCY IN THE HOUSEHOLD

The estimated annual waste through domestic inefficiency is $300,000,000. Mr. Hoover calculates that the waste in foodstuffs alone is $50 per American family, which would make an annual family waste of over one billion dollars.

References:

"The Family Budget and Its Supervision," by Florence Nesbit, in National Conference Social Work, 1918, page 359.

"The Educational Opportunities Presented by the School Luncheon," by Sally Lucas Jean, in National Conference Social Work, 1918, page 68.

"The Home Vegetable Garden," *Farmers' Bulletin*, 255, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

"The Cost of Living," by W. E. Clark, and "The Family and Society," by John M. Gillette, both in the National Social Science Series, McClurg, Chicago, $0.60 each.

"Household Organization for War Service," by Thetta Quay Franks.

"Ten Lessons in Thrift" and other literature prepared by the Savings Division, Treasury Department, Washington, D. C.

X. CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS FOR WOMEN OFFENDERS

"Treatment (of female criminals) will in the future start from the type standpoint. The next step, then, in the correctional treatment of girl and women offenders is a new kind of reformatory—a

reformatory which shall be organized and administered on the principle that persons committed to it must be classified into distinct groups."—Mrs. Jessie D. Hodder.

References:

"Work Among Delinquent Women and Girls," by Henrietta S. Addition, Commission on Training Camp Activities, War Department, Washington, D. C.

"Municipal Detention for Women," by J. D. Rippin.

"Some Principles of Parole for Girls," by Edith N. Burleigh.

"Courts of Domestic Relation," by Chas. W. Hofman.

"Crime Prevention," by Arthur Woods, Princeton University Press, 1918.

For North Carolina, see reports of Samarcand Manor, by Agnes MacNaughton, Jackson Springs, N. C., and bulletins of the State Board of Public Welfare, R. F. Beasley, Commissioner, Raleigh, N. C.

General References

For a full treatment of the subject of this bulletin as related to the women of *England* see "Economic Effects of the War Upon Women and Children in Great Britain," by Irene O. Andrews, Oxford University Press, 35 W. 35th Street, New York City. A careful study of this readable little book will be the best preparation for an approach to the subject as related to the women of America.

"American Women and the World War," by Ida Clyde Clarke, D. Appleton & Co., New York City.

"Women Wanted," by Mabel Potter Daggett, Doran Co., New York City.

"War's Effect on Woman's Status," by A. Winnig, in *Current History Magazine*, 1917.

"Mobilizing Woman's Power," by Harriet Stanton Blatch, 1918, $1.50. (Work by women of England since beginning of war.)

"Munition Makers," by Amy Hews and Walker, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City, $0.75.

"War Work Bulletin," a weekly publication—free, issued by the war work council Y. W. C. A., 600 Lexington Avenue, New York City.

Social and Reconstruction Problems are discussed from week to week in the *Survey*, New York City. ($4.00 a year.)

"The Woman's Part, a Record of Munitions Work" (illustrated), by L. K. Yates, Doran Co., New York City. (Pamphlet.)

"War Work for Women," and other leaflets compiled by the Information Department, Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense, 1918.

"Woman's Work," in the *American Legislation Review*, December, 1918.

"Safety for Women in Factories," in *Literary Digest*, February 15, 1919.

"Industrial Citizenship for Women," in *New Republic*, July 13, 1918.

"Women After the War," by W. L. George in *English Review*, December, 1916.

"Women in War Industries," by Esther Norton, in *New Republic*, December 15, 1917.

"Women in Industry," published by Federal Council of the Churches, 105 East 22d Street, New York City.

"War Time Problems of the Industrial Woman," and other leaflets published by the War Work Council of the Y. W. C. A.

"Woman's Work and War," published monthly by the National Woman's Trade Union League (free), 139 N. Clark Street, Chicago.

Bulletins issued by the Woman's National Farm and Garden Association, 414 Madison Avenue, New York City.

The volume containing the proceedings of the National Conference for Social Work for 1918 (the Kansas City Convention, published at 315 Plymouth Court, Chicago) is full of illuminating articles and discussions on the after-the-war status of women and children in industry and in society. A few of the most noteworthy contributions are cited here. The numerals refer to the sections of the preceding topical outline.

1. "State Care for Mothers and Infants," by Julia C. Lathrop, page 389.

"Minimum Standards of Child Protection and Home Care," page 82.

2. "Protective Work for Girls in War Time," by Maud E. Minor, page 656.

"Sanitary Conditions About Military Camps and Parts Played by the Public Health Nurse," by Mary E. Lent, page 189.

"Venereal Diseases and Clinics for Civilians Near Military Camps," by Ann Doyle.

3. "Mental and Physical Diagnosis of School Children," by Mrs. Helen T. Woolley, page 109.

"Universal Physical Education," by Willard S. Small, page 56.

6. "Problems in the Administration of Mothers' Aid," by Mary T. Bogue, page 349.

"Courts of Domestic Relations," by Chas. W. Hofman, page 124.

7. "The Community Recreation Program for Juveniles," by Geo. A. Bellamy, page 65.

10. "A Tentative Outline for a Study of Illegitimacy," by Cheny C. Jones, page 91.

"Municipal Detention for Women," by Jane Deeter Rippin, page 132.

"Some Principles of Parole for Girls," by Edith N. Burleigh, page 147.

VOL. II, No. 8 APRIL, 1919

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By MRS. THOMAS W. LINGLE
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SPECIFIC REFERENCES

The following books are referred to frequently throughout the course and it is recommended that each club purchase them and have them at hand constantly at the service of the members.

"On the Trail of the Immigrant," by Edward A. Steiner, published by Fleming H. Revell, New York, 1906, $1.75.

"The New Immigration," by Peter Roberts, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1912, $1.60.

"Races and Immigrants in America," by John R. Commons, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1907, $1.50.

"Fair Play for the Workers," by Percy Stickney Grant, New York, Moffat, Yard & Co., 1918, $1.60. Or

"Labor Problems," by Adams and Sumner, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1915, $1.75.

"Negro Life in the South," by W. D. Weatherford, New York, Association Press, $0.75.

"Americanization," by Winthrop Talbot, New York, H. W. Wilson Co., $1.25.

"The Immigrant and The Community," by Grace Abbott, New York, The Century Co., 1917, $1.25.

HOW TO USE THIS PROGRAM

1. Provide each member of the club or the department with a copy of the program.

2. Assign the parts on the program to the various members and write their names in all the booklets.

3. Let the leader for each meeting be responsible for the program for the day, and make any necessary substitutions.

4. Those who are to take part on a given program should ascertain what books and periodicals are at hand in public and private libraries. If material is needed from the University, it would be well for the leader of the day to order it, rather than for each member to do so, to avoid duplication.

5. The outline is intended as a guide for reading and studying, not as a cut and dried program. It should be adapted to the interests of the individual club. If one topic is more applicable than another, it can be amplified to cover two meetings, and one less appropriate can be omitted.

6. The "papers" can be either written or spoken, but should in either case be carefully thought through. The material we send, except in a very few cases, is not intended to be read at the meetings, but to be studied and digested beforehand.

7. The discussions should be introduced by some one who has made herself familiar with the subject, and should be guided and closed by her.

8. In writing to us for material to be loaned by the library, please note:

a. We do not send material out of North Carolina.

b. Write as early as possible, at least two weeks before date of your meeting.

c. In writing, give name of your club, *date of the meeting,* and list of material you already have at hand.

d. Return the material just as soon as possible, two weeks is the time limit.

9. If you are not getting just the help you need, or the interest in the club seems to diminish, write to us about it.

10. Give us suggestions for next year's study program and criticisms and suggestions on the form or any other feature of the programs.

Address all correspondence concerning this program to Miss Nellie Roberson, Secretary Bureau of Extension, Chapel Hill, N. C.

OTHER SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Clubs are advised to send names of several members of the club to be placed on the mailing list for monthly bulletins and handbooks and other literature to Director of Americanization (F. C. Butler), Bureau of Education, Department of Interior, Washington, D. C.

For information on relation of women to industry, get bulletins issued by The National Woman's Trade Union League, 139 N. Clark Street, Chicago, Illinois, and bulletins of the Consumers' League, 105 East 22d Street, New York City.

For Labor Laws write to the American Association of Labor Legislation, 131 East 23d Street, New York City.

For the "Immigrant as Seen Through His Own Literature," write to Mrs. Trueworthy White, Boston, Mass., Chairman of Literature Department, G. F. W. C.

AMERICANIZATION

STUDIES OF THE PEOPLES AND THE MOVEMENTS THAT ARE BUILDING UP THE AMERICAN NATION

PART I.

WHAT IS AMERICANIZATION?

Hon. Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior, says: "Americanization is the interpretation of the attitude, ideals, standards and life of the American people to those who come here from abroad, it is also a movement for the fuller realization of all the opportunities of one who lives in America."

Professor Charles Zueblin says: "I understand by Americanization the persuading of people to work at the job of being Americans. I think that must apply to natives as well as immigrants. A large part of our trouble with the immigrant comes from his observation of the inadequacy of the citizenship of natives and our indifference to his education in Americanization."

According to Winthrop Talbot, "Americanization is an attitude of mind upholding certain principles. We are Americanized when our attitude of mind is in accord with these fundamental American principles of government and conduct, when our judgment accepts them as sound and our industrial, civic and home practice and mode of living conform with American standards. 'We' and 'our' embrace native born and alien, for our foreign born, although speaking no English and dwelling again in their home land, may yet be more truly Americanized than such straight descendants of Pilgrim and Puritan stock as may have habits of thought and conduct which are undemocratic, intolerant and unfraternal."

"Within our territory and constituting a nation are 90,000,000 people, representing all races, nationalities, languages, temperaments, and religions; the African, the Asiatic,

the Caucasian, the Irishman, the Scandinavian, the German, the Hungarian, the Pole, the Italian; the Protestant, the Roman Catholic, the Jew, the Agnostic; some of the richest men in the world and some of the poorest, some of the most cultured and some of the most ignorant and superstitious, with no common faults, no common traditions, only a common humanity, and under no other control than that they exert over themselves and over each other. If such a heterogeneous people are to form a perfect union, it is indispensable that they must understand each other's temperaments, have in each other's welfare an interest and entertain for each other a respect."

There are many definitions of the general process which we are calling Americanization, yet no one seems quite able to define it or to set limits to it. It evades all definitions and attracts us by its very illusiveness. Through it we find a means of expressing the impulse that is strong within us to make ours a better and a more united country because of all we have gained and of all we have lost. We have gained confidence in the Republic as a fighting nation and as a peace-prompting nation; we have lost provincialism and a boastful sense of national superiority. It took the call to arms to reveal some of the weak places in our national make-up, native and foreign-born shared alike in the tests. As a nation, we have passed through a season of heart searching and the natural reaction is "Americanization."

There was found a place for woman's efforts in the war program, and because there is a place for her in the new Americanization, the club women of the General Federation have decided to center their studies and their efforts around this topic for the coming year.

The North Carolina Federation has adopted it as their line of study and this program has been prepared as a guide for use by reading circles, classes, or clubs.

We find many helps to guide us in the study. Books on all phases of Americanization are appearing almost as fast as one can review them. The Department of the Interior is issuing bulletins on matters connected with Americanization, and the

superintendent of documents publishes surveys, findings, and plans for the education of the foreigner.

The several states are waking up to their responsibility and each that has a special foreign problem is making a survey of it and developing plans for the training of its foreign-born along the lines of Americanization. Chief among the means used are the public and private schools for working boys and girls, factory classes, and home visitation. English is being taught as the first essential in schools, in churches, in Sunday schools, in factories, in homes and in moving picture theatres.

Not only English, but American principles of government and standards of living are being made known to the newcomer through text books on civics and American history. Classes in citizenship are being held, and hundreds and thousands of eager foreigners are being prepared step by step to take their part in this new Americanism which is of the heart as well as of the head. Through story and biography, American ideals are being made known to the new citizen until he is at last made to feel at home in a land that is no longer strange. The importance of this practical work in Americanization can hardly be over emphasized, it is a paying investment, it will yield rich returns. It should go hand in hand with the use of the present study course, wherever foreign-born people are neighbors to us. As club women, we have a special duty toward the immigrant woman, the hardest member of the new family to reach.

The course which is here outlined is however addressed in the main to the study of the immigrant in his American environment. It is an attempt to make the foreign born better known to native Americans, in order that a more intelligent and appreciative relation may spring up among the members of the composite family. For this purpose we take up a study of some of the racial groups who have come to our shores; and with their background always before us, try to learn something of their life in the new world. We have perhaps thought too long of the recent immigrant as so much crude material, so much negative matter which we tolerate if he

keeps quiet and unobtrusive, leaving him alone until at last in the second or third generation he takes his place beside us in industry and in politics as an American citizen, even then terribly handicapped because of things which have never been explained to him. We have lost much by ignoring all that the immigrant brings with him and we have missed much by a failure to realize what he represents. Usually he is a chip off of an older stratum of civilization than we Westerners know anything about. His earthly belongings may all be contained in the bundle on his back, his pocket may be empty save for the necessary entrance sum, but he may be immensely rich in those things which time and tradition and the slow moving of the spirit of art contribute to the human being.

To really understand the immigrant, we should know something about the land from which he comes, and in this respect the study follows naturally after the course of last year which centered our attention on the countries and the peoples of war-torn Europe. To enter truly into the motives of the immigrant for coming and to grasp a sense of that expectancy with which he approaches the "gate," we should be able to enter into his literature through his native language. This in most cases we can not do, but it is fortunate for us that almost every group has an outstanding character, one who has the double gift of sympathy with his former environment and a grasp of the spirit of the new country as well. Such an one as Mary Antin or Edward Steiner is an interpreter of the old world to the new and serves to establish a link of sympathetic understanding between the Americans of longer and shorter standing. In order to see the immigrant through his own eyes we have selected a number of biographies to be used as book reviews.

But our study does not stop with the immigrant's entrance into the promised land. We are interested in knowing where the different races and nationalities have made their settlements, what trades they have entered and what they are doing toward the development of the various sections of our country. Our study leads us to discover that strains of foreign blood

run in the veins of many of our outstanding patriots, and when we continue the tracing far enough back, we find that we all came from somewhere and added something to the make-up of the composite American type. As we proceed, we like to figure Americanization, not as a melting pot, but as a glorious garden plot where varying types of human beings can grow and develop each in his own good way on a common liberty-loving soil.

Immigration presents its own peculiar problems and some of these are at the root of the disorders and antagonisms with which the industrial world is today struggling. So closely is immigration linked up with problems of labor, wages, production and standards of living that we have been led on to suggest a study of some of the more popular phases of economics. The last two meetings are devoted to a treatment of economic topics in the hope that reading and discussions along these lines will lead to a better comprehension of the vital problems that lie beneath the surface in the Americanization movement.

Clara Souther Lingle.

FIRST MEETING

Subject: The Story of Immigration to the United States

The Republic of the United States is in fact a nation of immigrants, a nation of aliens. All have made the great migration, all have come hither from other parts of the earth. The only difference among Americans is that some came earlier while others came later, indeed as it were yesterday, to these shores. We came hither first or last, across the ocean, and from the ends of the earth.—George A. Gordon.

Paper No. 1. By.....

Distinct Periods and Characteristics of Immigration to the United States.

References:

"The Tide of Immigration," by Warne.
"Labor Problems," by Adams and Sumner, chapter on Race and Nativity of Immigrants, page 72.
"Immigration, a World Movement and Its American Significance," by Fairchild.
"Emigration and Immigration," by Smith.
"Dictionary of Races and Peoples," Report of the Immigration Commission, December 5, 1910.
"Immigration," by Hall, Part I.
"Races and Immigrants," by Commons, chapter on Nineteenth Century Additions.

Paper No. 2. By.....

Why They Come.

References:

"On the Trail of the Immigrant," by Steiner, chapters 1-5.
"Emigration Conditions in Europe." Reports of the Immigration Commission. Senate Document, No. 748. 3d Session, 61st Congress.

"The New Immigration," by Roberts, chapter on Inducements to Immigrate.

"Races and Immigrants," by Commons, chapter on Emigration Agencies and Labor Speculators.

PAPER No. 3. By.....

BOOK REVIEW: "The Promised Land," by Mary Antin.

Or "Our Slavic Fellow Citizens," by Balch.

Date..... Place.....

SECOND MEETING

Subject: Immigration and Assimilation

Americanization is assimilation in the United States. It is that process by which immigrants are transformed into Americans. The American of today is, therefore, the result of the assimilation of all the different nationalities of the United States which have been united so as to think and act together. —Grover G. Huebner.

Paper No. 1. By.....

The Racial Effects of Immigration and the American Type.

References:

"Races and Immigrants," by Roberts, chapter on Races in the United States.

"The Coming Race in America," by Franklin H. Giddings, in *Century,* March, 1903.

"Americanization," by Talbot, chapter on Amalgamation and Assimilation, by J. Commons.

"The Melting Pot," by Zangwill.

"Americanization," by Talbot, chapter on American Ideals and Race Mixture.

"Fair Play for the Workers," by Grant, chapter on Americanization of the Immigrant, page 67.

"Americanization," by Talbot, chapters on The Child of the Foreigner and the Immigration Problem.

"Racial Consequences of Immigration," in *Century,* February, 1914.

"Labor Problems," by Adams and Sumner, chapter on Birth Rate as Affected by Immigration, page 109.

Paper No. 2. By.....

Is Further Immigration a Menace to American Ideals?

References:

"Danger to American Traits and Characteristics from Immigration," by Jane Addams, in *Education Review,* March, 1905.

"The Question of Assimilation," by E. G. Balch, in *Charaties and Commons,* December 8, 1907.

"The Future of American Ideals," by Prescott Hall, in *North American Review,* January, 1912.

"Is Immigration a Menace?" by C. L. Sulzberger. Published by American Jewish Commission, 356 2d Avenue, New York City.

"American and Immigrant Blood. A Study of the Social Effect of Immigration," by Ross, in *Century,* December, 1913.

"The American People," by Alfred M. Low, chapter on the Influence of Immigration.

"Labor Problems," by Adams and Sumner, pages 69 and 214.

Paper No. 3. By.....

Book Review: "With Poor Immigrants to America," by Graham Stephens. Or "From Alien to Citizen, the Story of My Life in America," by Edward A. Steiner.

References:

"Statements and Recommendations Submitted by Societies and Organizations on Subject of Immigration," in Senate Document 764, 3rd Session, 61st Congress.

Date..... Place.....

THIRD MEETING

Subject: The Composite American Nation

PAPER No. 1. By.....

WHAT IS IT TO BE AN AMERICAN?

This country is constantly drinking strength out of the new sources of the voluntary association with it of great bodies of strong men and forward-looking women of other lands. And so it is being constantly renewed by the same process by which it was originally created. It is as if humanity had determined to see to it that this great Nation, founded for the benefit of humanity, should not lack for the allegiance of the people of the world.—WOODROW WILSON.

REFERENCES:

"Americanization Speech and Report of Secretary Lane," in *Bulletin,* Department of Interior, Washington, D. C.

"Making Real Americans Out of Many Races," by H. H. Wheaton in *Review of Reviews,* August, 1918.

"What is it to be an American," by Franklin K. Lane, in *National Geographic Magazine,* April, 1918.

"An American Farmer," by John de Crevecoeur, Letter III.

"America in the Making," Lyman Abbott.

"Americanization," by Talbot.

PAPER No. 2. By.....

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF CITIZENSHIP.

REFERENCES:

"On Becoming an American," by Bridges.

"The Young Woman Citizen," by Mrs. Mary Austin.

"Your Vote and How to Use It," by Mrs. Raymond Brown.

"Universal Training for Citizenship and Public Service," by W. A. Allen.

"Instruction and Practice in the Duties of Citizenship," in *Bulletin* of the Massachusetts Board of Education, prepared by Arthur W. Dunn, 1918.

"An Outline Course in Citizenship," by Raymond F. Crist, in *Bulletin* of the U. S. Bureau of Naturalization, Washington, D. C., 1916.

PAPER No. 3. By.....

BOOK REVIEW: "The Immigrant and the Community," by Grace Abbott. (Deals with the special problems of the immigrant girl.) Or "From Alien to Citizen," by Steiner. Or "They Who Knock at Our Gates," by Mary Antin.

DISCUSSION: By.....

DOES THE EXTENSION OF THE FRANCHISE TO THE FOREIGN BORN, THE ILLITERATE, AND THE INDIFFERENT WOMAN TEND TO MAKE DEMOCRACY UNSAFE?

REFERENCES:

"The New Immigration," by Roberts, chapters on Crime and the Courts, and Politics.

"Races and Immigrants," by Commons, chapter on Amalgamation and Assimilation.

"Statements and Recommendations by Societies on Subject of Immigration," in Senate Document No. 764, 3d Session, 61st Congress.

"The Citizen's Part in Government," by Elihu Root.

Date..... Place.....

FOURTH MEETING

Subject: The Americanization of the Foreign Born Through Education

Any man who expects to be free and ignorant at the same time, expects what never has happened and what never can happen.—Thomas Jefferson.

Illiteracy

The Facts in the United States: There are in the United States 516,163 persons ten years of age and over who are unable to read and write in any language. Of this number nearly five million are twenty years of age and over; 57.7 are white people; 1,534,272 are native born whites. The draft revealed 700,000 men who cannot read and write in English or in any other language.

Paper No. 1. By.....

The Facts in My State. What are we doing about it? Compulsory school attendance, is it enforced? Night Schools. Get the facts from your State Superintendent of Public Education.

References:

"Compulsory English for the Foreign Born," in *Survey,* July 13, 1918.

Paper No. 2. By.....

The Education of the Immigrant.

References:

"Education and the Immigrant," by Paul Abelson, in *Journal of Social Science,* September, 1906.

"The Public School and the Immigrant Child," in *National Educational Association Journal of Proceedings,* 1908.

Americanization Bulletin, Vol. I, September, 1918, to date.

"The School Center and the Immigrant," in *Playground,* February, 1917.

"An Adventure in Education," by Elizabeth M. Case, in *New Republic,* December 22, 1917.

"The Education of the Immigrant," by Frances Alice Kellor, in *Educational Review,* June, 1914.

"Educate the Immigrant," by G. Pinkham, in *Outlook,* October 14, 1911.

"The New Immigration," by Roberts, chapter on Culture.

Paper No. 3. or Discussion. By.....

Other Agencies Beside the Public School That Are Educating the Immigrant. Welfare work in mill villages, evening factory classes. Social settlements Churches and Sunday Schools. Moving pictures.

References:

"The New Immigration," by Roberts, chapter on Reaching the New Comer.

"Evening Schools for Foreigners," by Adele Marie Shaw, in *World's Work,* January, 1905.

"Where Garments and Americans are Made," by Jessie H. McCarthy, 1917.

"Teaching Citizenship Through the Movies," by Ida Clement, in *Special Report No. 2.* Municipal Reference Library, New York City, June 26, 1918.

"Education of the Immigrant," in *Bulletin No. 51,* 1913, published by U. S. Bureau of Education.

"Public Facilities for Educating the Alien," in *Bulletin No. 18,* 1916, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

"Americanization," by Talbot, chapers on Domestic Education, and Schools in Camps.

"Duty of the American Churches to Immigrant People," by Mary C. Barnes, in *Bible World,* June, 1913. (A movement to teach immigrants to read and speak English by use of simple text books based on the Bible.)

"Americanization," by Dixon. (A review of work done by civic and social agencies of the National Americanization Committee.)

"Americanization," by Talbot, chapter on The Library and the Foreign Speaking Man.

"The Library as a Social Factor," by W. D. Johnson.

"Illiteracy and Americanization," by Franklin K. Lane, address published by the Department of the Interior, Washington, D. C.

"Illiteracy and Americanization," by C. P. Cary, State Superintendent, Madison, Wisconsin, 1917.

PART II.

COLONIAL ELEMENTS AND EARLY IMMIGRANTS

The original settlers of this country were, in the main, of Teutonic and Keltic stock. In the thirteen original States the pioneers were practically all British, Irish, Dutch, and German, with a few French, Portuguese and Swedes; and, in this connection, it should be remembered that a large proportion of the French people is Teutonic in origin. The Germans were Protestants from the Palatinate, and were pretty generally scattered, having colonized in New York, western Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. The Swedes settled upon the Delaware River. The French were Huguenots driven from home by Louis XIV; and, though not numerous, were a valuable addition to the colonies. The Irish were descendants of Cromwell's army, and came from the north of Ireland. All the settlers had been subjects of nations which entertained a high degree of civilization, and were at that time the colonizing and commercial nations of the world. At a later period, the annexation of Florida and Louisiana brought in elements of Mediterranean races, so called; but owing to various considerations into which it is not necessary to enter here, the civilization and customs of the British overspread these regions, as well as those colonized originally by the Dutch and French, and produced a substantial uniformity in institutions, habits and traditions throughout the land.

This process of solidification and assimilation of the different colonies under British influence reached its consummation with the establishing of the Federal Government. After the birth of the United States as a separate nation, colonization in the earlier sense ceased entirely. European nations could no longer send out their own citizens and form communities directly dependent upon themselves and subject to their own jurisdiction. The immigration of the nineteenth

and twentieth centuries, therefore, differs widely in character from the colonization of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

With the year 1820 the official history of immigration to the United States begins; for it was then that collectors of customs at our ports were first obliged to record the arrival of passengers by sea from foreign countries. The record included numbers, ages, sexes, and occupations.—Prescott F. Hall.

FIFTH MEETING

Subject: The British Foundation

God is making the American, but God works through men, If the American is to be made, he must be made by American. What can we do to make the American of the future such that we shall have a right to be proud of our handiwork?—Lyman Abbott.

Paper No. 1. By.....

The English in America.

References:

"The English in America," by J. A. Doyle. (The history of the English colonies in North Carolina during their period of dependence on the mother country.)

"Races and Immigrants in America," by Commons, chapter on Colonial Race Elements.

"Immigration," by Hall.

Paper No. 2. By.....

Book Review: "The Scotch Irish in America," by Henry Jones Ford.

Tells the story of the Ulster plantation and of the influences that formed the character of the people. The causes are traced that led to the great migration from Ulster, and the Scotch Irish settlements in America are described. The influence of the Scotch Irish settlements upon American institutions is traced and there is an appreciation of the Ulster contribution to American nationality.

Paper may be divided thus:

a. Scotch Migration to Ulster.

b. Emigration to United States, settlements in New York, Pennsylvania, expansion south and west.

Or "Races and Immigrants in America," by Commons, chapter on The Scotch Irish.

Paper No. 3. By.....

American Statesmen and Leaders of Scotch Irish or Irish Descent.

References:

"Irishmen of Today," by Darrell Figgis.

"American Yearbook Directory of Scottish and British Associations in the United States, Canada and British Possessions," New York, 4th Ave. and 8th St., Caledonian Press Co., 1914, $1.00. (The Scotch Irish Society in America was founded in 1819 and held ten successive conferences, the annual proceedings of which contain a mass of information. The only Scotch Irish Society now known to exist is the Pennsylvania Scotch Irish Society which holds annual meetings and publishes reports.)

"The Irish Issue in its American Aspect," by S. Leslie, New York, Scribner's Sons, 1917, $1.25.

"Races and Immigration," by Commons.

"Irish in the United States. Where Irish Americans Stand in the War," in *Literary Digest*, February 2, 1918.

"Father Bernard's Parish," by Florence Olmstead. Fiction.

"My Lady of the Chimney Corner," by Alexander Trevine. Fiction.

"Settlements of Scotch Highlanders in America," by J. P. McLean, Chapter V, on Highlanders in North Carolina; chapter VI, on Highlanders in Georgia; chapter VII, on Highland Settlement of the Mohawk.

For a brief history of Scotland see:

"Scotland," in the Story of the Nation Series.

"A Short History of Scotland," by Andrew Lang.

For Ireland See:

"Ireland," in the Story of the Nations Series.

"Irish Folk History Plays," by Isabella A. Gregory.

For Scotch Irish in North Carolina:

"Flora McDonald in America," by J. P. MacLean.

"Highland Scotch Settlement in North Carolina," N. C. booklet, 1905.

"Scotch Irish in North Carolina," by R. D. W. Connor, chapter on the Upper Cape Fear Section.

"Scotch Irish in North Carolina," by A. J. McKelway, N. C. booklet, 1905.

Date..... Place.....

SIXTH MEETING

Subject: The Negro

America has today no problem more perplexing and disquieting than that of the proper and permanent relations between the white and colored races.—Gilbert T. Stephenson.

I have lived close to and loved many of the race and I have thought of them as men and women, made of God for his Glory, and not as a Problem.—Mary Helm.

Paper No. 1. By.....

Present Forces in Negro Progress.
a. Educational. b. Religious.

References:

"Races and Immigrants in America," by Commons, chapter III.

"Education for Life, The Story of Hampton Institute," by F. G. Peabody.

"Present Forces in Negro Progress, and Negro Life in the South," by W. D. Weatherford. "Dedicated to the college men and women of the South in whose tolerant spirit and unselfish interest lies the hope of the negro race."

"The Mental Capacity of the American Negro," by Marion J. Mayo.

"Hampton Normal and Industrial Institute," by Hollis B. Fusill, in *Constructive Quarterly,* September, 1918.

"National Aid to Negro Education," by J. H. Dillard, in *School and Society,* June 8, 1918.

"The Negro in Relation to Our Public Agencies and Institutions," by J. L. Kesler, in *American City,* August, 1918.

"Improvised Negro Songs," by K. Lemmermann, in *New Republic,* December 22, 1917.

"Applied Knowledge as a Problem in Negro Education." *Bulletin,* Bureau of Education, September, 1916.

Paper No. 2. By.....

Economic Progress. The Negro Farm Owner, The Negro in Various Industries.

The fact that today the negroes of the South who fifty years ago did not own themselves, now own real estate which in the aggregate is said to exceed the worth of the whole of the New England states is doing more to solve the race problem than all the northern interviews and the northern editorials on the rights of the Afro-American that have been spoken and written since the Proclamation of Emancipation. —Lyman Abbott.

References:

"A Century of Negro Migration," by Carter Godwin Woodson, Washington Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1918, $1.00.

"The Negro and the New Economic Conditions," by R. R. Moton in *National Conference Social Work,* 1918.

"Tackling One of America's Biggest Problems," by M. Barstow in *World's Work,* May, 1918.

"The Negro, the Southerner's Problem," by Thomas Nelson Page.

"The Negro in Business," by Booker T. Washington.

"The Basis of Ascendency," by Edgar G. Murphy.

"What the Negro is Doing to Help Win the War," in *Literary Digest,* July 27, 1918.

"Patriotism of the American Soldier," by R. R. Moton in *Outlook,* November 20, 1918.

"The American Negro and the World War," by R. R. Moton in *World's Work,* May, 1918.

"From Darkness to Light, the Story of Negro Progress," by Mary Helm.

"Trade Unionism and Labor Problems," by Commons, chapter on The Negro Artisan.

Paper No. 3 or Discussion. By.....

Negro Race Leaders.

"Up From Slavery," by Booker T. Washington.

"The Future of the American Negro," by Booker T. Washington.

"The Negro and the Nation," by George S. Merriam, 1906.

"The Negro in the South," by Washington and Du Bois.

"The New Voice in Race Adjustment," Atlanta Conference, 1914.

"The Negro," by W. E. Du Bois.

"The Story of the Negro," by Booker T. Washington.

"Race Distinctions in American Law," by Gilbert T. Stephenson.

For complete statistics of negro population, occupations, religious connections, etc., see *Bulletin,* No. 129, Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, Washington, D. C.

"Lawlessness or Civilization, Which?" Report of Conferences on Education, 1917. Edited by W. D. Weatherford, Blue Ridge, N. C.

"Races and Immigrants," by Commons, chapter 3, on The Negro.

Date..... Place.....

SEVENTH MEETING

Subject: Immigration From Countries of Northern Europe

The immigrants who came in the earlier years (before 1882) were permanent settlers, they were of races closely allied to the dominant race of this country, they were for the most part, anxious to become assimilated and their standard of life while lower than that of native laborers was distinctly higher than than of the immigrants who have arrived during recent years.—SUMNER.

PAPER NO. 1. By.....

GERMAN AND AUSTRIAN IMMIGRATION.

"On the Trail of the Immigrant," by Steiner, Chapter VII, The German in America.

Note that Steiner writing before the war was impressed with the materialistic spirit of the German immigrant which disappears in the third and fourth generation of his Americanization. He says "The German in America has not produced many great men but he has filled this country with good men which is infinitely better. The cause of the dearth of prominent German Americans is due to the fact that they blend more quickly than any other foreigner (except the Scandinavian) with the nation's life, especially if the German reaches any kind of eminence; and the effect which he has upon the life of the nation is difficult to trace because of that. The coarse, the crude, and the low retain their national stamp, while the finer and better soon become part of us."

"The Celtic Tide," by Ross, in *Century,* April, 1914.

"Germans in America," by Ross in *Century,* May, 1914.

"Races and Immigrants," by Commons, chapter on Germans and Austrians.

"The Place of the German Element in American History," by Julius Goebel, in *American Historical Association Report,* 1909.

Paper No. 2. By.....

Scandinavian Immigration Including That From Sweden, Norway, and Denmark.

References:

"Scandinavians in America," by Ross, in *Century,* June, 1194.

"Norwegians in the United States, by Ross, in *Century,* January 25.

"Danes in the United States," by Ross, in *Century,* February 22.

"Races and Immigrants," by Commons, pages 132 and 152.

"On the Trail of the Immigrant," by Steiner, references to Scandinavians.

Paper No. 3. By.....

The French and Italian Elements. (Italians included here as being more closely related to immigration of this period than to the following. Paper may well be divided.)

References:

"The Heart of America," by Finley, chapter on The French. (Historical).

"Races and Immigrants," by Commons, pages 125 and following pages.

"Contribution of the Roman Nations to the History of the United States," by Wm. R. Shepherd, in *American Historical Society Report,* 1909.

"On the Trail of the Immigrant," by Steiner, references to Italians.

"The Italian on the Land," in *Bulletin* of U. S. Bureau of Labor, May, 1907

Paper No. 3 or Discussion. By.....

Racial Origin of Successful Americans.

References:

See article by that name in *Popular Science Monthly,* April, 1914.

Also in *Scientific American,* May 30, 1914.

"Americans of Austrian Birth," in *Literary Digest,* September 28, 1918.

Date..... Place.....

EIGHTH MEETING

Subject: The Jew in America

Our country seems destined in the Providence of God to be the meeting place of all the people, to be the world's experimental station in brotherhood, all of us learning that other nations are not barbarians, that other races are not inferior, that other faiths are not godless.—Rabbi Stephen S. Wise.

Paper No. 1. By.....

The Jew as an Immigrant

There are not many real Russians in the United States. Most of those classed as coming from the Russian Empire are either Poles or Finns, or are Jews driven out from all parts of Russia. There are said to be two million Jews in America, of whom sixty per cent live in greater New York, making it the largest Jewish city in the world, containing twice as many Jews as any other city. The Greek church or Eastern Church was the established church of the old empire, but we do not see much of the Orthodox Greek Catholics in America, whose beautiful cathedrals with their renowned male choirs and gilded domes are familiar to the American tourist in Paris and in four of the famous Swiss resorts on Lake Geneva. Are there any Greek Catholic Churches in America?

References:

"The New Immigration," by Roberts.
"Alien Immigration," by Bradshaw.
"The Housing of the Working People," by E. R. L. Gould, special reports of U. S. Commission of Labor.
"Races and Immigrants," by Commons, references to the Jews.
"The Jews of Today," by Arthur Ruffin.
"Comrade Yetta," by Albert Edwards.

Paper No. 2. By.....

The Contribution of the Jew to Democracy.

"The Jew not only found liberty in America in the fullest sense, but he found brotherhood among the composite population of the United States. Today in every city of the Union, the Jewish portion of the population is a part of its civic backbone and moral sinew as well as among its most responsible material assets." The United States stands third among the countries of the world in its Jewish population.

References:

"Justice to the Jew, the Story of What He Has Done for the World," by M. C. Roberts, chapter on the Influence of the Hebrew Commonwealth upon the Origin of Republican Government in the United States.

"Jews In America," by C. W. Miller, 1915, published by C. W. Miller, Natchez, Miss.

"Jewish Immigration to the United States from 1881 to 1910," by S. Joseph, 1914.

"Organization Problem of Jewish Community Life in America," by W. D. Waldman, published by National Conference of Jewish Charities, 441 Fayette St., Baltimore, 1916.

"The Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Jewish Publication Society of America," published by the Society, 1913, Philadelphia.

Paper No. 3. By.....

Book Review: "The Russian Jew in the United States," by Charles S. Bernheimer. Studies of social conditions in New York, Philadelphia and Chicago, with a description of rural settlements. "Is intended to present the rise and development of the Russian Jews who have come to the United States during the past twenty years, to show the qualities they brought

with them, to present the facts as to their adjustment to conditions here and to look into the future.''—PREFACE. It contains chapters on economic and industrial conditions, religious activities, educational influences, amusements and social life, health and sanitation, rural settlements, etc.

Or ''Imported Americans,'' by Broughton Brandenburg, New York, Frederick A. Stokes, 1904.

Or ''One of Them,'' by Elizabeth Hasanovitz. Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1918. Fiction.

Or ''Real Russians,'' by Sonia E. Howe. (A sympathetic picture of Russian life; its military confines, its Red Cross and its prisoners and especially its peasant life a short time before the revolution.) New York, Lippincott, $2.00.

Or ''Joseph Pulitzer,''' by Alleyne Ireland.

Or ''With Poor Immigrants to America,'' by Stephen Graham, a Russianized Englishman, New York, Harper & Bros., 1914.

Or ''The Promised Land,'' by Mary Antin.

Or ''The Chosen People,'' by Sidney L. Nyburg.

PAPER NO. 4 OR DISCUSSION. By.....

WHAT DO YOU KNOW ABOUT THESE FAMOUS JEWS?

George Brandeis, Max Nordau, Sir Francis Palgrave, the Rothchilds, Alfred Sutro, Mrs. Alfred Sedgwick, Joseph Pulitzer, Israel Zangwill, Charles Walstein, Sidney Lee Spinoza, Joachim, Wieniawski, Mme. Zeisler, Felix Adler, Disraeli?

PART III.

THE NEW IMMIGRATION

The difference between the immigrants from northwestern and southeastern Europe is marked. The percentage of illiteracy among the former is small, among the latter it is more than 35 per cent. The number of skilled workers from Great Britain, Scandinavia, Germany and France is large, but the immigrants from Italy, Austro-Hungary, Russia and the Balkan States are almost wholly unskilled. The immigrants from the first-mentioned countries come to make America their home; a large percentage of those from the last-mentioned countries come alone with the expectation of returning to the fatherland after a few years absence.

"The people of northwestern Europe brought with them religious and political ideals which made their assimilation comparatively speaking an easy matter, but the peoples of southeastern Europe in these respects are much further removed from American standards and the work of assimilation is a far more serious task. These differences justify dividing European immigrants into two classes—the northwestern and the southeastern; the major part of the former came to America previous to 1890 and is called the old immigration, while the major part of the latter came since that year and is called the new immigration.

"Among the new immigrants, the prolific Slav race with its numerous branches brings the greatest numbers and presents the most difficult problem of Americanization."

The Slavs in America—Poles

Slavic immigration to America can be divided into three groups corresponding to the racial groupings in Europe, out of which three distinct nations are now emerging and seeking recognition at the Peace Conference. Of these "New Nations," one is the re-organized Poland, with Warsaw as the capital with its fifteen million people, and Danzig as its hoped-for outlet to the sea. The large percentage of Jews among the inhabitants can be accounted for by the fact that

Poland early threw its doors open to the Jews persecuted in Russia, Spain, England and practically all the other countries. One fourth of the population to-day is Jewish, the rest is Roman Catholic.

Bohemians

Of the Slavs in America, the most familiar to us are the two hundred thousand Bohemians in and around Chicago, and those employed in the coal mines of West Virginia and Illinois. They are not an agricultural people; coming mostly from the towns and villages, they go into industrial life. Like the Poles they are Roman Catholics, but many in America become infidels of the Robert Ingersol type.

"The most venturesome of the Slavs, the Bohemians, in whom the love of wandering was always alive, started this stream of immigrants as early as the seventeenth century, sending us the noblest of their sons and daughters, the heroes and heroines of the reformatory wars, idealists who like the Pilgrim Fathers, came for Freedom to worship God."—Steiner.

The Jugo Slavs

These "southern" Slavs are one of the latest national groups to be recognized as an independent people. They number about twelve million, their religion is that of the Greek Church, some of them are Mohammedans. In America we know them as the "round heads." They are mostly coal miners. One fourth of them all are in America. The Moravians who first settled in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and later migrated to North Carolina, are the historical descendants of the Czecho-Slovaks of the time of John Huss, the reformer, who started the unsuccessful revolution in Bohemia. The Hussites migrated to Saxony and established their capital at Hernhutte.

Of the Slavs the Bulgarians speak the most ancient of all the Slavic languages; it is to the modern Slavs what Anglo-Saxon is to the American. The Bulgarians are Orthodox Greek Catholics.

NINTH MEETING

Subject: Immigration From Southeastern Europe: The Slav

Paper No. 1. By.....

General Characteristics of the Slav Immigrant and the Home From Which He Comes.

References:

"The New Immigration, a Study of the Industrial and Social Life of Southeastern Europeans in the United States," by Peter Roberts.

"On the Trail of the Immigrant," by Steiner.

"Immigration," by Hall.

"Races and Immigrants," by Commons.

Paper No. 2. By.....

The Slavs in Their New Homes. (This paper may be divided into three parts by those clubs to which the Slav presents a local problem.)

a. *The Poles and Jugo Slavs in Cleveland.*

References:

"How the People of Detroit are Making Americans of the Foreigners," by G. Mason, in *Outlook,* September 27, 1916.

"The Poles in the United States," in *Literary Digest,* March 8, 1919.

Bulletins on the "Slovaks," the "Magyars," and the "Poles of Cleveland," published by Cleveland Americanization Committee, 226 City Hall, Cleveland, Ohio. Ten cents each.

"My Mother and I," by E. G. Stern.

b. *The Bulgarians With Headquarters at Granite City, Illinois.*

REFERENCES:

See references under Paper No. 1.

c. *The Bohemian Coal Miners.*

REFERENCES:

"Bohemians," in *Literary Digest,* April 5, 1919.
See references under Paper No. 1.
"Slavs on Southern Farms," Senate Document No. 595, 3rd Session, 61st Congress.

PAPER No. 3. By.....

BOOK REVIEW. Items from Current Periodicals on the Slavs and their Americanization.

Or "My Antonia," by Villa Cather. Fiction.

REFERENCES:

"The Story of Poland," by Miss Orvis.
"Poland, Today and Yesterday," by Neven Winter.
"Poland, Knight Among Nations," by Van Norman.
"Poland," in the Story of the Nations Series.
"Poland," in *Literary Digest,* February 15, 1919.
"The Proud Artistic Past of the Czecho Slovacs," in *The New York Times Magazine,* March 2, 1919.
"Rekindled Fires, Story of a Bohemian Immigrant Family," by Joseph Anthony.

Date..... Place.....

TENTH MEETING

Subject: The Chinese in America

The Chinese immigration was of a much earlier date than the Japanese, and has been prohibited by law since 1882. Those reported since then either belong to the exempted classes or have entered illegally. The exempted classes are merchants, travellers, teachers, students and officials and wives and minor children of certain Chinese residents of the United States. The three groups that give employment to the Japanese and Chinese are farming, domestic service and laundry work. It is well known that the Japanese are more numerous in the agricultural pursuits and the Chinese in domestice service and laundry work. *Bulletin 127.*

PAPER NO. 1. By.....

THE STORY OF THE CHINESE ON THE PACIFIC COAST; THE IMMIGRATION TREATY OF 1880 AND THE CHINESE EXCLUSION ACT OF 1882.

REFERENCES:

"Chinese Immigration," by Mary Roberts Coolidge.

"Allies on the Pacific," in *World's Work,* November, 1918.

"Reenter China," by O. M. Saylor, in *New Republic,* November 20, 1918.

"Emigration and Immigration," by Richmond M. Smith, Chapter on Chinese Immigration and Restrictions on Immigration,

"Immigration," by Prescott Hall, chapter on History of Chinese Immigration Legislation.

"Chinese and Japanese in the United States," in *Bulletin,* 127, 1910, Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

"Labor Problems," by Adams and Sumner, chapter on Chinese Immigration, page 99.

Treaty-Laws and Rules Governing the Admission of Chinese May 1, 1917, (latest official document) Department of Labor.

Paper No. 2. By.....

The Chinese as Citizens of the New World. Is it Possible for America to Assimilate the Oriental?

References:

"Your Chinese Neighbors," by J. K. Winslow, in World's Work, August, 1918.

"Races and Immigrants," by Commons.

"About Chinamen," in *Public Opinion*, February, 1918.

"Teaching English to Chinese Students," by L. B. Lenz, in *Educational Review,* June, 1918.

"Asiatic Women in America," by M. E. Burton, in *Missionary Review,* October, 1918.

"A Chinese Student Visits America," in *World's Work,* August, 1918.

"Americanization, the California Program," *Bulletin* of California State Printing Office, Sacramento, January, 1919.

Paper No. 3 or Discussion. By.....

American-Chinese Relations.

The essence of the immigration problem is the enforced competition between laborers with a low standard of life and laborers with a high standard.—Sumner.

References:

"Chinese Immigration," by Mary Roberts Coolidge.

"China," in *World's Work,* December, 1918.

"Tapping China's Reservoir of Man Power," in *Scientific American,* February 16, 1918.

"Our Great Field for Trade in China," in *Literary Digest,* July 13, 1918.

"International Relations of China, Japan and the United States," by J. B. Scott in *American Journal of International Law,* October 17 and January 18.

ELEVENTH MEETING

Subject: The Japanese in America

I would like to show you how these children, whether Japanese or American, no matter what their source, stood every morning before the American flag and raised their little hands and pledged themselves to one language, one country and one God.—Franklin K. Lane.

Paper No. 1. By.....

Japanese Labor and Art in the United States.

References:

Japan's Growing Industrial and Foreign Trade," in *Scientific American,* July 13, 1918.

"The Japanese Problem," by W. A. Millis, Chapter II on Japanese Wage Earners in Industrial Pursuits.

"Allies on the Pacific," in *World's Work,* November, 1918.

"Japanese Workshop with Yankee Ways," in *Literary Digest,* June 28, 1918.

"Americanization," by Talbot, chapter on Are Japanese Assimilable, by Sidney Gulick.

Paper No. 2. By.....

Japanese Students in the United States. Laws in Regard to Their Admittance.

References:

"International Comity and the Japanese Woman," by J. M. McKim in *The North American,* August, 1918.

"Japan's Thwarted Emigration," by W. E. Weyl, in *Asia,* May, 1918.

"America and Japan," in *New Republic,* March 23, 1918.

"Facts in a Nutshell about Immigration, Yellow and White," 443 St. N. W., Washington, D. C., Thomas, $0.15.

"Labor Problems," by Adams and Sumner, chapter on Japanese Immigration, page 99.

Paper No. 3. By.....

Book Review: "The Japanese Problem in the United States, by H. A. Millis.

Or "The American Japanese Problem," by Sidney Gulick.

Or "The Japanese Crises," by Jas. A. B. Scherer.

Or "Democracy and Education," by Oliver W. Stewart, in *National Enquirer,* Indianapolis.

General References on Japan and Japanese in America.

"America to Japan," by Lindsay Russell.

"Japan at First Hand," by Clark.

"What the Mikado's Navy Has Done for the Allied Cause," by A. Kinnosuke, in *Scientific American,* March, 1918.

"Influence of Democracy on Japan," by E. I. Suginoto, in *World's Work,* November, 1918.

For complete statistics on Japanese population, see Bulletin 127, Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1910.

Date..... Place.....

TWELFTH MEETING

Subject: The Immigrant and the Law—Naturalization

"Flag of our Republic, inspirer in battle, guardian of our homes, whose stars and stripes stand for bravery, purity, truth and union, we salute thee! We, the natives of distant lands do pledge our sacred honor to love and protect thee, our country and the liberty of the American people forever."

Paper No. 1. By.....

Immigration Legislation.

References:

"A Comprehensive Immigration Policy and Program," by S. L. Gulick, in *Scientific Monthly,* March, 1918.

"The Future in America," by Wells, chapter on The Immigrant.

"Immigration," by Hall, Appendix III, United States Immigration Laws.

"Races and Immigrants," by Commons, chapter on Immigration Legislation.

"The New Immigration," by Roberts, chapter on Politics.

Paper No. 2. By.....

Who May Be Naturalized and How.

References:

"Teachers' Manual. Standard Course of Instruction for Candidates for Citizenship," U. S. Bureau of Naturalization. *Bulletin.*

"Americanization," by Talbot, chapter on Naturalization, page 261.

"Labor Problems," by Adams and Sumner, chapter on Legislation, page 93.

"The New Immigration," by Roberts, chapter on The Immigration Problem.

"Races and Immigrants," by Commons, chapter on Naturalization, page 188.

Paper No. 3. By.....

Book Review: "The Future in America," by Wells.

Or "The Invaders," by Frances N. Allen. Fiction.

Or "A Far Journey," by A. M. Ribany.

Discussion: Effects of the War on Immigration and the Future Immigration Policies. Do you agree with Wells? "The European countries are not unlimited reservoirs of offspring. As they pass from their old conditions into more and more completely organized modern industrial states, they develop a new internal equilibrium and cease to secrete an excess of population. England no longer supplies any great quantity of Americans, Scotland barely any, France is exhausted, Ireland, Germany, Scandinavia have, it seems, disgorged all their surplus load and now run dry. These are all mitigations of the outlook, but still the dark shadow of disastrous possibility remains. The immigrant comes to weaken and confuse the counsels of labor, to serve the purposes of corruption, to complicate any economic and social development of that national consciousness and will on which the hope of the future depends."

Date..... Place.....

PART IV.

FUTURE IMMIGRATION POLICIES AND LABOR PROBLEMS

Hitherto, immigration legislation, except as to the Chinese, has been non-restrictive; over the President's veto, this has now been changed and the illiterate, irrespective of character, mental or physical condition, are to be excluded. This fundamental controversy is for the present at least, settled; both sides should now enlist in the campaign to secure for those immigrants who pass the tests for admission, that protection from abuse and wrong which their helplessness demands and which an enlightened self-interest would seem to require. And when this shall have been secured, perhaps we shall have learned that it is neither desirable nor possible to fit human beings into a single mold; that true Americanization can best be attained by the development of each immigrant's inherent latent powers; that each of the older nations, through its emigrants, can contribute in the future as each has contributed in the past: spiritual, moral, mental, physical or aesthetic essential for the realization of an ideal America.—Julian M. Mack.

The effects of the war on immigration and the future immigration problems are variously stated; by one authority: "America faces today a situation unparalleled in its history. Hundreds of thousands of immigrants are clamoring to leave its shores, held back only by passport restrictions and food scarcity." Grace Abbott looks at it from the point of view of the old countries burdened with war debts and overstocked with women: "The numbers that will crowd the steerage with the re-establishment of peace and the parts of Europe from which they will come cannot now be determined with exactness. But we can be sure that the "New Immigration" will bring new aspects of the old problems. It is for example, reasonable to expect that the proportion of women among those who will seek to enter the United States will be larger after than it was before the war. This will mean that the "Special Problems of the Immigrant Girl" will become more serious.

Miss Abbott's book, "The Immigrant and the Community," which is founded on eight years work with the Immigrants' Protective League, and seven years of residence at Hull House, Chicago, furnishes the connecting link between the problems of the immigrant on entering the new country and those that grow out of his life and work in his new home. These problems are largely economic ones and an enquiry into some of the conditions and facts recognized by the student of economics will throw light on this phase of Americanization.

THIRTEENTH MEETING

Subject: The Immigrant in His New Home

Frederic C. Howe, Commissioner of Immigration, believes that immigration in America after the war will center around the idea of ownership of land. In America in the recent past, immigrants have settled in the cities because they cannot do what earlier immigrants did, namely, acquire cheap land in the west.

PAPER No. 1. By.....

THE DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS AND THE TRADES THEY ENTER.

REFERENCES:

"Labor Problems," by Adams and Sumner, page 75.
"Immigration," by Hall, chapter on Economic Conditions.
"On the Trail of the Immigrant," by Steiner, chapter on The New Problem.
"Races and Immigrants," by Commons, chapter on Labor and City Life.
"The New Immigration," by Roberts, chapter on Camp and Town Life and Cities Where They Gather.
"Fair Play for the Workers," by Grant, chapter on the Working Man and Patriotism.

PAPER No. 2. By.....

SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS CUSTOMS AND STANDARDS.

REFERENCES:

"The New Immigration," by Roberts, chapter on Housing Conditions and Home Life and Culture.
"Labor Problems," by Adams and Sumner, chapter on The Standard of Life, page 80.
"Fair Play for the Workers," by Grant, chapter on The Influence of Religion.
"The New Immigration," by Roberts, chapter on Societies, Churches and Recreation.

"Americanization," by Talbot, chapter on The Immigrant Family by S. P. Breckinridge.

"Schemes to Distribute Immigrants," by Samuel Gompers in Senate Document No. 21, 3rd Session, 63rd Congress.

Paper No. 3. By.....

Book Review: "Story of How I became an American Woman," by Stern.

Discussion. By.....

Foreigners as Domestic Servants, and Agencies for the Protection of Immigrants.

References:

Annual report of League for Protection of Immigrants in "Statements by Societies Interested in Immigration," U. S. Bulletin.

Date..... Place.....

FOURTEENTH MEETING

Subject: Labor Problems Growing Out of Recent Immigration

It was economic freedom that made America what she is. It was this that lies at the foundation of our Democracy. It was freedom of access to the earth and all its fulness, it was this that gave us industrial eminence. It is the passing of this freedom, it is the enclosure of the land and coming of the tenant that has brought down the curse of poverty upon us as it did in Rome, just as it did in France, just as it did in Ireland, and just as it did in England at a later day.—Frederic C. Howe in "Privilege and Democracy."

Paper No. 1. By.....

The Land and the Immigrant.

References:

"Emigration and Immigration," by R. M. Smith, chapter IV on Immigration and Population.

"Races and Immigrants," by Commons, chapter on Landlordism.

"Privilege and Democracy," by Howe, chapter on Land Values.

"Immigration," by Hall, page 137.

Paper No. 2. By.....

Industrial and Social Problems.

References:

"The New Freedom," by Woodrow Wilson.

"On the Trail of the Immigrant," by Steiner, chapters 20-25.

"Privilege and Democracy," by Howe.

"American Ideals," by Cooper.

"The New Immigration," by Roberts, chapter IV on Industrial Life.

"Labor Problems," by Adams and Sumner, chapter on The Sweating System and following chapters.

Paper No. 3. By.....

Labor Unions: Their Growth and Influence.

To the adult immigrants the labor union is the strongest Americanization force. The union teaches them self-government through obedience to officers elected by themselves. It frees them from the spirit of subservience and gives them their primary lessons in democracy, which is liberty through law.—From Americanization Through Union, article in *The World Today,* October, 1903.

References:

"Fair Play for the Workers," by Grant, chapter on Labor Organization and its Influence on our Problems.

"Trade Unionism and Labor Problems," by Commons.

"Cooperative Finance," by Herbert Myrick, chapters on Labor Unions and Various Trades.

"Industrial Efficiency," by Shadwell, chapter on Trade Unions in Vol. II.

"Labor Problems," by Adams and Sumner, chapter on Labor Organization.

"Trade Unionism and Social Problems," by Fred Harrison.

Date..... Place.....

FIFTEENTH MEETING

Subject: Socialism, or Attempts to Reconcile Capital and Labor

The strongest bond of sympathy outside the family relation should be the one uniting all working people of all nations and tongues and kindred.—Abraham Lincoln.

PAPER NO. 1. By.....

DEFINITIONS AND PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALISM, ANARCHISM, COMMUNISM, BOLSHEVISM, AND THEIR RELATION TO LABOR, CAPITAL AND WEALTH.

REFERENCES:

"Fair Play for the Workers," by Grant, chapter on What the Working Men Want.

"Races and Immigrants," by Commons, chapter on Socialism, page 181.

"The New Immigration," by Roberts, references to Socialism.

"American Socialism of the Present Day," by Hughan.

"Industrial Liberty," Bonham.

"National and Social Problems," by Fred Harrison. (For the Positivist theory of capital and labor,) Part III.

"Labor Laws," by Adams and Sumner.

Any standard work on Economics.

"The Relation between Labor and Capital and Reconstruction, in *American Educational Review,* December, 1918.

PAPER NO. 2. By.....

THE BURDEN OF WEALTH AND THE RESPONSIBILITY OF LEISURE.

REFERENCES:

"Society and Culture in Changing America," by Ross.

"Fair Play for the Workers," by Grant, chapter on Are Rich Americans Aiding Americanization?

"Privilege and Democracy in America," by Frederic C. Howe.

"Democracy and Social Ethics," by Jane Addams.

"The Wealth and Income of the People of the United States," by W. I. King.

Chapters under wealth in any work on Economics.

"The Distribution of Wealth," by N. Carver.

"Work and Wealth," by J. A. Hobson, chapter XV on The Distribution of Leisure.

PAPER NO. 3 OR DISCUSSION. By.....

THE WASTE OF IGNORANCE.

A nation has a moral obligation to prevent waste in the interests of those who are lacking in the necessities of life and the social opportunity which is built upon substantial income. "There is enough food wasted daily in New York to give argument to an army of anarchists."—SIR HERBERT B. TREE.

REFERENCES:

"Misery and Its Causes," by Ed. T. Divine.

"Ten Lessons in Thrift," and other publications of the War Savings Division, Treasury Department, Washington, D. C.

Date..... Place.....

SIXTEENTH MEETING

Subject: Changing America

A survey of some of the forward-looking movements that are tending to overcome social and racial antagonisms and to promote industrial and national stability.

A study of any two of the following topics with the recent periodical literature on the subject will probably be sufficient for one meeting.

PAPER No. 1. By.....

SOCIAL UNIT ORGANIZATIONS.

REFERENCES:

"The Town Meeting," by John Fiske.

"The Community Drama," by Percy MacKaye.

"The New Immigration," by Roberts, chapter XXI, on Reaching the Newcomer.

"The School Center and the Immigrant," in *Playground,* February, 1917.

PAPER No. 2. By.....

NEW IDEALS IN EDUCATION.

a. *Training for Citizenship.*

REFERENCES:

"Prospective Changes in Educational Standards, in *School and Society,* December 7, 1918.

b. *Education Through Play.*

"The Play Movement and Its Significance," References in *Playground.*

c. *Tests for College Entrance; Measuring Ability to Learn Rather Than Amount Acquired.*

"Standard Tests for Teachers' Use," by G. C. Swift, in *School and Society,* July 27, 1918.

"Use of Intelligence Tests in the Educational Guidance of High School Pupils," in *School and Society,* October 19 and 26, 1918.

Paper No. 3. By.....

Penal Reforms, With Preventive and Corrective Treatment Rather Than Punishment as the Purpose.

a. *In the Army.*

"Prison Reform at the United States Disciplinary Barracks," in *Proceedings National Conference Social Work,* 1918,

b. *In State Supervision and Control of Delinquents.*

"Punishment and Reformation," by Frederick H. Wines. An Historical Sketch of the Rise of the Penitentiary System.

Paper No. 4. By.....

Social Insurance.

References:

"Social Insurance," by Henry Rogers Seager.
"Social Insurance," by I. M. Rubinow.

Book Review: "Nationalizing America," by Edward A. Steiner.

Date..... Place.....

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Barnes, Mary C., "The New America, a Study in Immigration," New York, Fleming H. Revell, 1913.

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"Big Brother for the Naturalization Applicant," in *Outlook,* January, 9, 1918, p. 74.

Bonham, John M., "Industrial Liberty," New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1900, $1.50.

Bridges, Horace James, "On Becoming an American," Boston, M. Jones, 1919, $1.75.

Brown, Mrs. Raymond, "Your Vote and How to Use It," New York, Harper & Bros., 1918, $0.75.

Case, M. Elizabeth, "An Adventure in Education," in *New Republic,* December 22, 1917.

Cather, Willa, "My Antonia," Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1918. Fiction.

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Vol. II, No. 9 May, 1919

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA EXTENSION LEAFLETS

SANITATION IN THE SOUTH

BY
THORNDIKE SAVILLE, M. S.
Associate Professor of Sanitary Engineering

AFTER-THE-WAR INFORMATION SERIES No. 4

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FOREWORD

North Carolina ranks ahead of 36 states of the Union in public health work. So reads the report of Dr. Charles V. Chapin in 1914 to the American Medical Association. This high rank is the cumulative result of the faithful, effective work of Drs. Thomas F. Wood, Richard H. Lewis, and W. S. Rankin, who in the order named have been the secretaries of our State Board of Health from 1877 to date.

Nevertheless 15.68 per cent of our drafted men were rejected by the local examining boards as physically unfit for service in the World War. Twenty-nine states made a better showing. Of the men we sent to the camps, 8.74 per cent were rejected for physical unfitness, and 32 states made a better showing. These are the figures of Provost Marshal General Crowder. All told, around a third of the North Carolinians called into service—men in the prime of life—were pronounced unfit to fight. Two Southern states, Kentucky and Arkansas, eight Central Western states, and two Rocky Mountain states ranked ahead of us.—*The War with Germany, Colonel Leonard P. Ayres, Army Branch of War Statistics.*

The Task in Carolina

All of which means that there is a vast deal of work still to be done in the field of public health in North Carolina. Every one of our 500 thousand homes, white and black, must be reached with the gospel of preventable disease and postponable death. The Public Health Bulletin of the State Health Board—and it is one of the best half dozen publications of this sort in the United States—goes into 50 thousand homes. Its circulation ought to be increased tenfold. Supporting public intelligence in the vital matters of personal and public hygiene, sanitation and sanitary engineering must be created in every county. We have public health departments and laboratories in 10 counties—more than in any other Southern state; but we must have them in 100 counties. We must have public health nurses in adequate numbers in both our town and country regions. We have a hundred or so organized under Dr. L. B. McBrayer, Superintendent of our

State Sanitorium, but we must have more, many times more. Our hospital facilities must be immensely increased. Six thousand beds in 80 hospitals for two and a half million people in North Carolina is tragic. There are fewer than 300 beds in four negro hospitals for our 830 thousand negroes. The treatment of tuberculosis is necessarily a local problem. We have at present only one county Tb. hospital—in Forsyth. We must have one in every county, or one for each co-operating county group. Public health physicians and public health nurses must be trained, or we shall limp along lamely for many years to come, and we must get ready for such training on a large scale in North Carolina. Every institution of technical and liberal learning in the state needs to ally itself in proper ways with our State Board of Health, and to reinforce at every point the magnificent work it is doing.

The University Serves

The University is trying to do its bit and its best in public health service to the state. Almost every issue of the University *News Letter* these five years has carried a public health item or two. For two years the North Carolina Club at the University has given special attention to public health and sanitation.—The N. C. Club Yearbook, 1916-17, and the University *News Letter,* May 21, 1919. The University Library is mailing out package loan libraries of books, bulletins, and magazine articles on 31 health subjects, free except for postage, around six cents each way.—The University *News Letter,* June 25, 1919. The University is offering four courses in Public Health Instruction and Sanitary Engineering, as follows: (1) communicable diseases, causes and control, (2) sanitary science, origin and development, (3) flood control, drainage reclamation, and malaria prevention, (4) water supply and purification, garbage and refuse disposal, sewerage and sewage systems, and so on. These courses are given by Professor Thorndike Saville, of Harvard, who has had valuable sanitary engineering experience in the Army.

The University is also planning new courses in Hygiene and Physical Education, calling for two or three additional faculty members in 1919-20.

The country end of all these problems has a large place in our thinking, and properly so because 79 per cent of our people dwell outside towns and villages of any sort or size whatsoever. Rural sanitation and health are just about four-fifths of the whole problem in North Carolina.

Rural Sanitation

Farmers who are concerned about comforts, conveniences, and health conditions in country homes will do well to write Professor Saville about domestic systems of lighting, running water for kitchens, bathrooms, inside toilet seats, sewage disposal, and the like.

The selective draft revealed the amazing fact that the country is not, as we had long thought, the safest place in the world to rear children in. The health and physical vigor of city-born boys was shown to be far better than that of boys born and reared in the country.

Our North Carolina country people need to give far greater attention than heretofore to health conditions in the countryside. The University is offering itself freely to country and city homes alike, and it will like to be used in behalf of better health conditions everywhere in the state.

Public education and public health are two after-the-war tasks of foundational importance in North Carolina.

In the appendix to this bulletin will be found a brief list of choice pamphlets concerning country health, country home conveniences and comforts, running water and sewage disposal in country homes, and so on. They can be had free of charge by sending a post card request to the addresses indicated.

E. C. BRANSON,
Kenan Professor of Rural Social Science.

SANITATION IN THE SOUTH

The Science of Sanitation—what is it? Sanitation is a word which in these present days trips lightly from the tongue of eager health officer to legislator, and from legislator to constituent. Do any of these realize the significance of the term? Sanitation deals with the prevention of diseases like typhoid fever, carried by germs in water, sewage, milk, and by flies. Sanitation deals with the maintenance of proper living conditions—clean, properly built and uncrowded houses, public water supplies and sewerage systems, garbage and refuse disposal, etc. Sanitation deals with public health instruction, public health officers and nurses, proper lighting and ventilation of factories, and many other things.

What then *is* sanitation? It is evident that sanitation is concerned with conditions *outside* the human body. The control of these conditions to make not only for healthful living, but for wholesome living is now so well understood that the laws which govern it may be classified and called a science. There is a definite and accurate relation between the causes of preventable disease and the efficiency of methods for its control and eradication. Sanitation, therefore, is the science which deals with the control of environment to prevent disease and procure wholesome living. It is concerned with the promotion of the public welfare.

Sanitation as a science is continually being changed and enlarged. Not only do new discoveries regarding the cause and prevention of disease bring constantly widening scope to sanitation, but our conception of what is necessary to maintain wholesome living is continually broadening. Our ideas of a minimum for wholesome living are constantly raised as the rights of individuals in a democratic society are interpreted more humanely.

I. URBAN SANITATION

The South has always been regarded as primarily rural and agricultural in the character of its population and industry. Until the last twenty years this has been so. Within the last decade, however, particularly in the cotton and tobacco producing states, there has been a pronounced tendency favoring the growth of

many small industrial and manufacturing centers. The South may now be said to have become semi-urban and semi-industrial.

This tendency of the population to concentrate in many small communities of from 1,000 to 3,000 inhabitants is strong and growing. Such communities will undoubtedly continue to spring up in increasing numbers, especially here in North Carolina and the adjacent states. The manufacture of cotton and tobacco in the states in which they are grown will become increasingly important. These states will continue to build factories to manufacture their raw product instead of shipping it north or to Europe. The increased cost of fuel for manufacturing in the North, the congestion of the railroads, and the approaching ultimate development of Northern and European water powers, will all tend to the development of the tremendous water power resources of North Carolina. In consequence, manufacturing communities in this and other southern states will become increasingly numerous. The tendency of southern states to become urban during the decade 1900-1910 is shown by the following table, prepared by my colleague Professor Branson.[1] The ratios there indicated will be without doubt greater in the decade 1910-1920:

TABLE I

Increases of Urban and Rural Population 1900-1910

State	*Urban Increase* %	*Rural Increase* %	*Ratio of Urban to Rural*
Tennessee	31.4	3.5	9:1
Mississippi	59.9	11.8	8:1
Virginia	34.3	5.7	6:1
Alabama	57.5	10.9	5.3:1
Kansas	39.0	7.3	5.3:1
North Carolina	53.0	12.0	4.4:1
Arkansas	53.9	16.3	4.2:1
Kentucky	14.9	4.2	3.5:1
Georgia	67.6	18.9	3.5:1
West Virginia	43.2	12.5	3.4:1
South Carolina	66.0	20.9	3.1:1
Florida	73.5	32.6	2.2:1
Louisiana	30.3	15.9	1.9:1
Average	46.5	13.1	3.5:1

[1] Georgia Club Syllabus on Population, E. C. Branson.

The sanitary problems of the South, therefore, are becoming increasingly urban in nature. Yet these communities are all small, are more or less scattered, and often require methods of sanitation quite different from the large, closely settled cities of the North.

Water Supply

As soon as a community reaches a population of 1,000 or 1,500 it should have a public water supply. Not only is this necessary because wells become polluted and inadequate in the more closely settled community, but the aggregation of numbers of people enables the financing of a public water supply which makes so greatly for both convenience and health.

Greater danger may ensue, however, if this supply is not pure. Too often epidemics of typhoid fever carried by infected water supplies have caused hundreds of deaths in various cities.

Many water supplies in the South are taken directly from rivers. The watersheds of these rivers are usually inhabited, and the rivers are nearly always polluted to a greater or less extent. There are numerous methods of purifying the water before it is consumed, of which filtration and sterilization are in common use. The best type for each particular place should be determined only after investigation by expert sanitary engineers.

Many water supplies are also taken from storage reservoirs formed by damming streams. These are less liable to gross pollution, but to eliminate the possibility of danger, the water is usually treated in some way. Again, the exact methods depend upon local conditions as to quantity of water, its characteristics as to color and turbidity, presence of filtering materials, degree of pollution, cost of chemicals, etc.

In many southern states public water supplies are taken from deep wells bored to water bearing strata far below the surface. Here both geological and engineering investigation should be made. These sources are less likely to be polluted than surface water, although limestone areas are potential danger spots, and infected water often finds its way down through fissures in the limestone. These waters do, however, frequently carry salts in solution which necessitate chemical treatment for their removal.

In all water supplies, therefore, old and new, it is highly desirable, and will be found economical in the end, to have trained engineering advice. The size of the drainage area, the probable yield, the future growth of the community, the degree of pollution, the best method of treatment, and the degree of purification required are all factors that must be considered.

Many communities at present are not only suffering from cheap, poorly designed plants because they employed inexpert engineers, but nearly all the smaller plants in the South are excessively costly in operation. This results both from poor original design and ignorant or careless management. Too often the town or city considers the mere presence of a plant sufficient surety for a pure supply. However, it will always pay to hire expert supervision, and the saving in chemicals alone will often suffice to meet the expense of a good operator. There are in the South today few trained filter plant operators. It is up to the colleges and universities of the South to train men in engineering, chemistry, and bacteriology to fit them for expert work. Where a town has intelligent operators, although not trained technically, it is often possible to arrange for periodic expert supervision by firms of consulting engineers equipped with laboratories and a trained personnel. When a town cannot afford a technically trained staff, this expedient will serve at small expense to ensure a safe water and economical operation of the plant.

Sewage Disposal

As soon as a community has a public water supply, the installation of a sanitary sewerage system would seem to follow as a natural corallary. Every consideration of decency, health, and convenience indicates this to be most desirable. Yet, curiously enough, some of the largest cities in the State of North Carolina, although furnished with public water supplies, still exhibit street after street, the rear of which is littered and defiled by open, insanitary privies.

It is probable that typhoid fever is, in at least 50% of the cases in the South, transmitted by flies carrying infected fecal matter on legs and wings from insanitary privies to food. It is known that these insanitary privies pollute the soil with hook-

worms, and that barefoot children and negroes become thus infected with the disease. It ought, therefore, to be regarded as criminal negligence to omit installing sanitary sewers wherever a public water supply is available. Not only should the system be installed, but abutting property owners should be obliged to connect their premises with it.

Sewage Treatment

The simplest method of sewage disposal by the sanitary water carriage system is to discharge the sewage into the nearest stream. This is the method practiced in most of our inland towns. Frequently these same streams are used for water supply for other towns further down stream. If the streams are of sufficient capacity and the period of flow between the sewer outlet and the water supply intake is sufficiently long, enough dilution of the sewage may occur so that only filtration and sterilization of the lower water supply will be necessary.

In other cases, and these are increasing in number as communities grow and streams become overloaded with sewage, insanitary and unaesthetic conditions arise near the sewer outlet. The sewage then must be treated to render it less objectionable and to prevent obnoxious conditions in the stream. State laws are already in force in a few of the Southern states providing for compulsory treatment of sewage under certain conditions.

Many streams in the South are small and subject to considerable fluctuation. The treatment of the sewage discharged into them will become more and more imperative as the population increases. There are numerous methods of treatment, from septic tanks of various kinds, filtration, chemical precipitation, activated sludge and acid processes, to sterilization. How far the treatment should go, and what process should be employed for most economical and satisfactory results only careful investigation in conjunction with laboratory studies can tell. Again the services of trained sanitarians are necessary.

Water and Sewage-born Diseases

Typhoid fever, dysentery, infant diarrhea, and hookworm are diseases conveyed in large part through germs from intestinal discharges. The first three of these are transmitted in probably

the majority of cases by ingestion, that is, by eating fecal matter. This is not a nice thought, yet it is a proved fact that the majority of cases of these diseases are so caused.

Fecal matter may be ingested by drainage from insanitary privies contaminating a water supply. Many typhoid fever epidemics have been due to this cause. Protection is afforded by sanitary care of the watersheds, by filtration, and by sterilization of the water supply.

Fecal matter may be ingested by flies carrying it to food from open privies. Protection is afforded by insisting on sanitary privies, or better, by a sanitary sewerage system.

In North Carolina there were during 1917, 502 deaths and 5,020 cases of typhoid fever. Elaborate studies have shown that the value of a human life lost by typhoid is $3,600[2] and that lost wages and medical attention cost $200 per case. North Carolina then lost in vital capital during 1917 from typhoid fever alone $2,817,200. At least 80% of this could probably have been prevented by pure water supplies and sanitary sewage disposal. To a somewhat less extent the same measure will prevent the other intestinal diseases. Computations indicate that at least $5,000,000 is the annual loss to North Carolina from diseases which could be prevented by proper sanitation. It is but a poor boast that North Carolina is better off in this respect than most of the Southern States.

Modern water filtration decreases greatly the typhoid fever death rate. In 1900, 1,860,000 persons were supplied with filtered water in registration cities of the United States. The typhoid death rate was 36 per 100,000. In 1913, 34,230,000 persons in these cities were supplied with filtered water and the typhoid death rate was reduced to 16. Other intestinal diseases were reduced in less degree. The significance of such figures is vital. The motto of the N. Y. State Board of Health is pertinent here—"Public Health is Purchaseable. Within natural limitations any community can determine its own death rate." In 1919 North Carolina will spend $6,000,000, more or less, on highway improvement, and $290,300 on the work of the State Board of Health. It will lose $5,000,000 more or less by deaths from preventable disease.

[2] The Typhoid Toll, by G. A. Johnson, Jr., Am. W. W. Assoc., 1916.

When will North Carolina recognize that good health as well as highway improvements pays dividends? When will the South wake up to the fact that its death rate from preventable disease of fecal origin is nearly twice that of the rest of the country, and that this preventable loss amounts annually to at least $50,000,000?

Garbage and Refuse Disposal

Whether this shall be done by incineration, reduction, burial, or feeding to hogs is a question of expediency and economics for each community to determine. Adequate disposal, however, is imperative to prevent breeding of flies and from aesthetic consideration.

Milk

The importance of fresh, clean milk as a food for both adults and infants is not yet adequately appreciated. It still remains one of the cheapest foods in proportion to the energy-making constituents which it contains. Its need and use are practically universal. Yet each year thousands of deaths are caused by drinking impure milk. A large proportion of such deaths are among infants. Containing the food elements so necessary for human beings, milk also furnishes an ideal medium for the growth of bacteria. It must be kept free both from adulteration and contamination by disease germs.

Large cities are able to control their milk supply within narrow limits by laboratory tests and inspection of dairies. Smaller cities and towns have great difficulty in obtaining assurance of a pure supply. The only certain method is by pasteurization, and this should be controlled by the municipality. The town of Tarboro, North Carolina, has established an enviable record in this respect. It has installed a plant, belonging to the town, which cost about $1,500. Milk is received in bulk at the plant from the dairymen at 12 cents per quart, and is clarified, bottled, pasteurized, and delivered by the town to consumers at 17 cents.

"[3]The total supply at the beginning was only about 175 quarts, but the arrangement is so satisfactory to the dairymen that the supply is constantly growing. It is now about 250 quarts. The plant is not only paying operating expenses, but is

[3] K. E. Miller in U. S. Public Health Reports, Dec. 13, 1918.

paying a handsome dividend on the money invested. In addition the public is getting safe milk from 3 to 5 cents per quart cheaper than is paid in any neighboring town for raw milk."

Inspection of dairies and testing of milk and cows should be the care of city and state. Practically none of the Southern states yet has laws regarding inspection of dairies, although in most states the quality of milk sold is under supervision.

Housing

As a community or region turns from agriculture to manufacturing there is a concentration of employees in the vicinity of the mills and factories. In the North these factory employees are largely foreign born, usually immigrants. In the South they are chiefly farmers turned mill operatives. The changed conditions of work and living must have important reactions upon the health of the individual. In this transitional process which is now so rapidly taking place all through the South, nothing has greater significance on the health and welfare of the employees than the way in which they are housed.

Housing conditions are rapidly being bettered in the older towns and improved in the new from two causes: the employees demanding proper living wages and proper living conditions; the employers realizing that healthful, contented employees mean better work, less labor agitation, and larger returns. The result is the rapid growth of model housing districts adjacent to industrial towns.

The following table shows the increase in the number of cotton mills from 1840 to 1910. The increase in both cotton mills and manufacturing establishments is continuing at a rapid pace. Each new factory means a small community of employees. Wise owners are building model houses.

TABLE 2[4]

Increase in Cotton Factories

Year	*N. Carolina*	*So. Carolina*	*Georgia*
1840	25	15	19
1860	39	17	33
1880	49	14	40
1900	177	80	68
1910	331	185	157
1918[5]	462		

In Ranlo, N. C., the Rex Spinning Company have but 120 employees. Yet they have built a good mill building of light, well ventilated construction; they own twenty 5-room houses and eleven 6-room houses which they rent to their employees on reasonable terms; they have built a graded school of the best type; and all power is furnished by electricity, thus avoiding dust and smoke. Such model towns will be increasingly frequent in the South as manufacturers realize the benefits accruing from contented employees. This means carefully planned small towns, open spaces, school buildings, well designed houses at low rents, and proper water supply and sewerage systems.

Industrial Sanitation

Closely linked with proper housing of employees is proper care of them during working hours. State laws enforce and far-seeing employers introduce proper lighting and ventilation in factories; proper hours of work; safeguards from accident; rest rooms and wash rooms; industrial nurses; and safeguards from the dangers of manufacturing processes. The necessity for laws to enforce these desiderata is imperative now that southern communities are becoming industrial. No Southern state yet has adequate laws of this nature, nor facilities for the technical inspection necessary to their enforcement.

Malaria

Probably no disease in the South is more productive of debility and loss of time from work than malaria. Also, no disease can be more absolutely or economically prevented. The cause

[4] Taken from Brooks's "The Story of Cotton."

[5] N. C. Labor Statistics, 1918. Cotton and Knitting Factories.

is the bite of an infected mosquito. Prevent mosquitoes from breeding, and malaria becomes a historic disease. Yellow fever has all but been stamped out by preventing the breeding of the stegomyia mosquito. Malaria can likewise be eliminated by preventing the breeding of the anopheles mosquito.

The Rockefeller International Health Board has recently completed some remarkable studies in malaria control. Two small towns in Arkansas were chosen. One, Crossett, is a lumber town of 2,029 population; the other, Hamburg, is the county seat of Ashlet county. A campaign was instituted toward mosquito extermination, oiling and drainage. The results are strikingly shown in Figures 1 and 2. The number of physicians' calls in Crossett was reduced from 2,500 to 200 per year. The drainage, etc., cost an average of $1.00 per capita for the first two years, or about $2,000. The physicians' calls in 1915 at $2 per call, came to $5,000. Here was a money saving in two years of some $3,000 per year in doctor's bills alone.

A somewhat similar campaign against malaria has been carried on in one North Carolina town. "Malaria control operations, chiefly through the use of measures directed against anopheles production, were begun at Roanoke Rapids, N. C., a cotton town of about 4,100 people, early in 1914. Between 1910 and 1913 about 75% of the population are said to have suffered from malaria. . . . . The costs per capita for this degree of control were 80 cents in 1914 and 27 cents in 1915. Those for 1916 and 1917 are said to have been still further reduced. The gain in efficiency of the working personnel under the influence of this work has been estimated by the mill managers as from about 50% during the four most malarious months of 1913 to about 95%, and the net gain from funds expended for control work has been characterized by the manager of one of the mills as the 'quickest and most enormous returns I have ever known from any investment.' This was probably between 400 and 1,000 per cent. Here the sinister role of malaria as a retarding factor has been eliminated and the single cause for practically all of their preventable illness removed through the one line of attack of control of mosquito production."[6]

[6] R. C. Devereaux, M. D., in Southern Medical Journal, August, 1918.

A very careful investigation of malaria in Louisiana showed that on a single plantation in 1914 there was a loss of $2,200 from sickness and $4,300 from inefficiency due to malaria. A moderate estimate of cases of malaria in the United States is 1,500,000 per year. In a single Louisiana county the annual cost of doctor's bills was $50,000 from malaria alone. In dollars and cents for medical attendance, nurses, loss of time, value of human life, etc., there is wasted on account of malaria at least $10,000,000 per year in the United States. Moreover, hundreds of acres of rich, cultivatable land are not populated because of the prevalence of chills, i. e., malarial fever.[7]

The first step in mosquito prevention is drainage of swampy lands where the mosquito breeds. This is often, on account of the large areas involved, a task for which a community must have Federal or State aid. Few states are actively engaged in drainage work for malaria prevention. The U. S. Public Health Service has done much good work of this nature in the vicinity of cantonments. The status of large scale malarial prevention works in Southern states is practically nil. Good drainage is an engineering accomplishment requiring special skill. It bears threefold fruits: freedom from malaria; the resulting economic gain from ability to work; and reclamation of valuable swamp lands. For a given sum of money no disease can be more quickly, more surely, or more economically prevented than malaria.

II. RURAL SANITATION

Water Supply

Wells and springs are the commonest sources of rural water supply. Bored wells are usually safe from surface contamination. Dug wells should be closed over the top, and concrete placed around the sides near the surface. Bacterial examination of all well water should be made at least once each year by the State Board of Health.

Infection of wells and springs by surface or sub-surface drainage from privies and sewers causes typhoid fever, dysentery, and infant diarrhea. The methods of this infection are known to all health officers and physicians. Physicians in rural districts should at once sterilize the water from wells or springs

[7] Southern Medical Journal, August, 1918, W. S. Leathers.

when any of the intestinal water borne diseases occur in a family. People not educated to the manner in which water borne diseases are transmitted will often refuse to boil their water on account of the trouble or the "flat" taste resulting. Physicians may make a sterilizing solution by adding one-half teaspoon of chlorinated lime (commercial bleaching powder), to one pint of water. One teaspoon of this solution will sterilize ten gallons of water, and leave no taste. The water should be allowed to stand for twenty minutes after dosing.

Sewage Disposal

There is only a very limited appreciation of the necessity for proper sewage disposal among the inhabitants of the rural districts, and in consequence conditions nearly everywhere are objectionable and dangerous. Probably conditions in North Carolina may be taken as fairly representative of the entire region. These have been described by the U. S. Department of Agriculture as follows:[8]

"Sanitary conveniences are deplorably lacking at many white as well as negro homes. More than half the white families visited had no toilet of any description on their premises. Privies are extremely rare, only one family in ten having a toilet of any description. . . . Where a privy is present it is commonly of the open-in-the-back surface type, usually dependent upon the scavenging services of chickens and hogs, which have easy access through the open back. . . . The few privies in the neighborhood—25 among the 231 families visited—are almost invariably built far out over the 'branch,' the contents washing down the swiftly moving stream (which is doubtless used for water supply farther down—T. S.) . . . Four-fifths of the negro families visited were without a privy; often where there was one it was not in use, so little was its importance realized. . . "

Germs of typhoid fever, dysentery, diarrheal diseases, and hookworm are spread chiefly from exposed and infected fecal matter. They are carried by drainage into wells, by flies going from exposed sewage to the table and infecting food, etc. The soil becomes badly polluted in the vicinity of such primeval conditions of sewage disposal. The hookworm thrives, and barefoot

[8] U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, Children's Bureau, Publication No. 33, 1918.

children and negroes are infected with the disease through the feet.

The remedy for these conditions is the sanitary privy. It consists of a fly proof house, screened ventilation openings, a galvanized iron receptacle, and daily removal of fecal matter. If a large concrete bottom is constructed in place of the galvanized iron pail, it may be built to act as a small septic tank, and removal of solid matter will be less frequent. Designs for these privies are furnished free by most Boards of Health. That advocated by the North Carolina State Board of Health is admirable, and will not cost over $5 to construct out of new material. By building such privies, and locating them 150 feet from any well (preferably down hill from a well) a family will be well repaid for the time and cost by freedom from typhoid, "summer complaint," etc. In all states the introduction of a law is desirable making the installation of sanitary privies compulsory. The State Board of Health of North Carolina has just succeeded in getting a law through the legislature. The July, 1919, number of the State Health Bulletin carries full information of the new Sanitary Privy law.

Housing

Crowded, insanitary, poorly built and poorly ventilated houses are by no means restricted to the slums of cities. Few houses are well built in the country. Conditions of overcrowding are frequent, and tuberculosis finds many homes equipped to welcome it. The sunlight and fresh air of out-door life are common enough in the day time. The danger lies in crowded ill-ventilated bed rooms at night. The notion that night air is dangerous to breathe is still common. The ignorance of mothers keeps babies swathed in dirty woolen wrappings in hot rooms just as frequently in the country as in the city. The remedy as before is education and laws. The people must be taught what well built houses and screened porches will do toward keeping them well; they must be shown how to build such houses economically; and overcrowding must be prohibited by law.

Too frequently people living in the rural districts do not realize that at moderate expense they can have many of the sanitary conveniences of the city dweller. The cost of installing

a small water supply, either by gravity from a spring, or by pumping by hydraulic ram to a tank, is not so great as ordinarily supposed. Once such a water system is installed, it is but a step to the introduction of water carriage for sewage disposal; a small septic tank; and finally really clean, wholesome, sanitary living.

Farmers interested in water systems in their homes can call upon the State Highway Commission to advise them free of charge about ways and means. This Commission has $5,000 a year to spend in giving such advice. Public Laws of N. C., 1917, chap. 267.

Conclusion

We have outlined some of the benefits which sanitation may secure. The South as a whole has much to do in making its communities sanitary. The public more and more insists on a beneficent control of environment—not only as a convenience, but as a right. Sanitary science has promulgated certain laws relating to environment. It is a crime against humanity to maintain conditions below the minimum prescribed by those laws.

Employers are coming to see that sanitation makes for efficiency and larger returns; employees are demanding proper living conditions, proper houses; municipalities are learning that sanitation increases morality, healthfulness, and contentment. Sanitation, so generally desired throughout the South, is upon the point of phenomenal and widespread extension.

To consumate the projects outlined above demands men of special training. Where will the South procure such men? Heretofore southern communities at great expense have brought specialists trained in the North to advise them. Southern problems are peculiar to the region. In their solution they require intimate knowledge of the conditions bearing upon them. Southern sanitation should be carried on by Southern sanitarians, taught and trained in the South.

To do its part in the training of sanitarians in the South, the University of North Carolina is offering several courses in sanitation. The courses in sanitary engineering deal with public water supplies, sewerage systems and sewage disposal, refuse and garbage disposal, drainage for malaria control, etc. These will be supplemented by work in the hydraulic laboratories,

and inspection trips to neighboring municipalities. A laboratory will be provided for in the sanitary analysis of water, sewage, milk, etc., and for performing special investigations. One of the promising features of this work is the close co-operation which it is expected will be maintained between the University and the State Board of Health. By such association the students will have opportunity for experience under actual field conditions and will have training in the application of the studies which they pursue at the University.

APPENDIX

Rural Water Supply, Sewage Disposal, and Home Conveniences

A brief list of selected bulletins that can be had free on post card request, as indicated.

1. Low Cost Water Works, reprint from *The Country Gentleman,* July 11, 1914.—President Joe Cook, Hattiesburg, Miss.

2. Water Supply, Plumbing, and Sewage Disposal for Country Homes. —U. S. Agricultural Department Bulletin No. 57.

3. Water Systems for Farm Homes, by George M. Warren.—Farmers' Bulletin No. 941, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

4. Farm Sanitation Number, by Dr. Hermann M. Biggs, New York State Health News, Albany, N. Y.

5. Clean Water and How to Get it on the Farm, by Robert W. Trullinger—reprint from the 1914 Yearbook of the Federal Department of Agriculture.

6. The Hickerson Steel Overshot Water Wheel and Pump for Rural Homes—Prof. T. F. Hickerson, University of N. C., Chapel Hill, N. C.

7. Hygiene of Rural Homes, Circular No. 100—State Board of Health of Maine, Augusta, Me.

8. Rural Methods of Waste Disposal, by Henry D. Evans—Bulletin 11,1-2, State Department of Health of Maine, Augusta, Me.

9. Modern Conveniences for Rural Homes, by Elmina T. Wilson.—Farmers' Bulletin No. 270, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

10. The Sanitary Privy—N. C. State Public Health Bulletin, July 1919.—State Health Board, Raleigh, N. C.

11. Rural Children in Two Selected Counties of North Carolina, by Dr. Frances Sage Bradley, and Miss M. A. Williams.—Children's Bureau, Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.

12. Rural Health Surveys, including Orange County, N. C.—U. S. Public Health Service, Washington, D. C.

13. Electric Light and Power from Small Streams.—A. M. Daniels, Division Rural Engineering, Bureau of Public Roads, Yearbook of the U. S. Agricultural Department 1918.

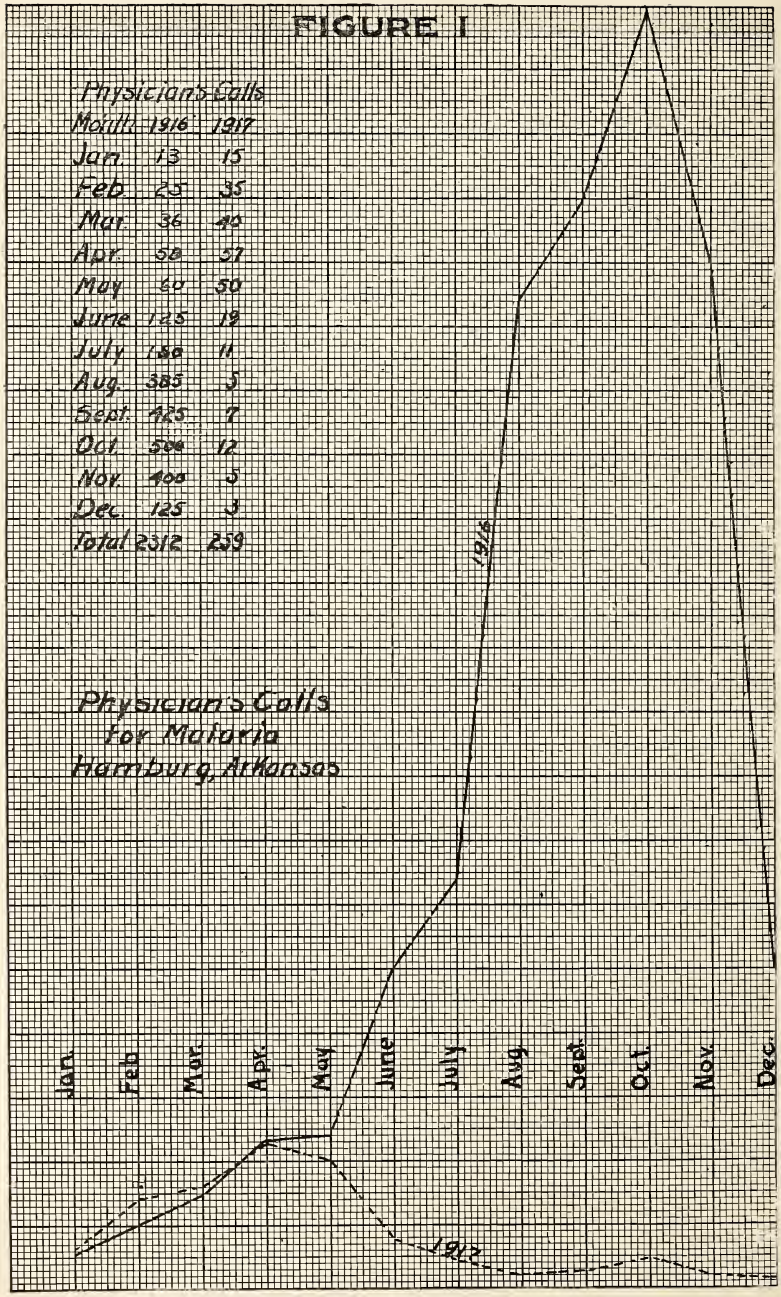


FIGURE I
Physicians Calls
Months 1916 1917
Jan. 13 15
Feb. 25 35
Mar. 36 45
Apr. 58 37
May 60 30
June 125 19
July 180 11
Aug. 385 5
Sept. 425 7
Oct. 500 12
Nov. 400 5
Dec. 125 3
Total 2312 239
Physician's Calls for Malaria Hamburg, Arkansas
1916
1917
Jan.
Feb
Mar.
Apr.
May
June
July
Aug.
Sept.
Oct.
Nov.
Dec.

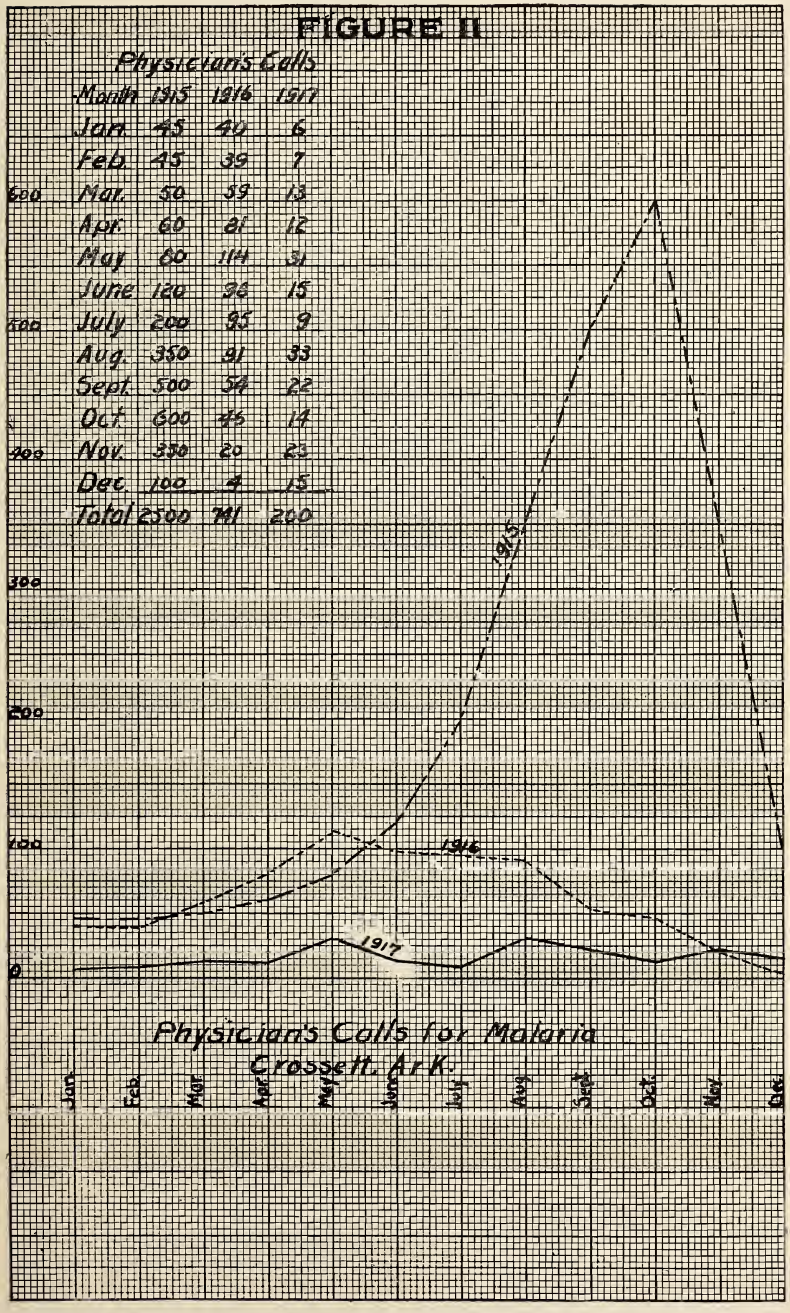
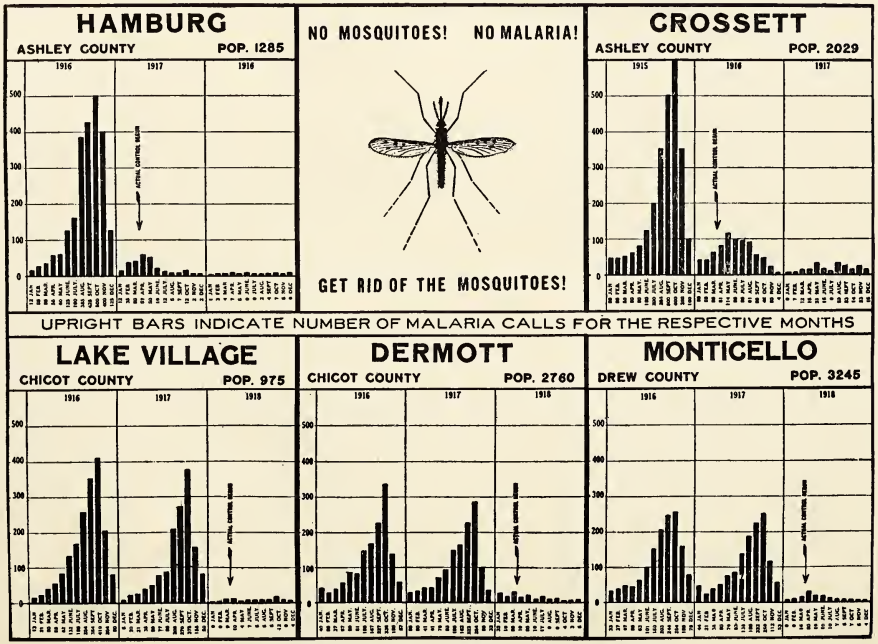


FIGURE II
Physicians Calls
Month 1915 1916 1917
Jan. 45 40 6
Feb. 45 39 7
Mar. 50 59 13
Apr. 60 81 12
May 60 114 31
June 120 96 15
July 200 95 9
Aug. 350 91 33
Sept. 500 54 22
Oct. 600 46 14
Nov. 350 20 23
Dec. 100 4 15
Total 2500 741 200
600
500
400
300
200
100
0
1915
1916
1917
Physician's Calls for Malaria
Crossett, Ark.
Jan.
Feb.
Mar.
Apr.
May
June
July
Aug.
Sept.
Oct.
Nov.
Dec.

FIGURE III. MALARIA CONTROL IN ARKANSAS

THROUGH THE APPLICATION OF ANTI-MOSQUITO MEASURES



ARKANSAS STATE BOARD OF HEALTH

C. W. GARRISON, M. D., STATE HEALTH OFFICER. H. A. TAYLOR, M. D., STATE DIRECTOR.

Vol. II, No. 10 June, 1919

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA EXTENSION LEAFLETS

THE AMERICAN'S CREED AND OUR NATIONAL FLAG: A MANUAL FOR TEACHERS

EDITED BY
L. A. WILLIAMS, Pd. D.
Professor of School Administration

AFTER-THE-WAR INFORMATION SERIES No. 5

PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY
Entered as Second Class Matter, March 14, 1918
CHAPEL HILL, N. C.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The greater part of the material herewith presented has appeared in the Letter Series of the School of Education in the University *News Letter*. At the suggestion of Dr. Muerman, of the U. S. Bureau of Education, this material is here reproduced in leaflet form for the use and direction particularly of public school teachers. Additional copies may be secured upon application to the Bureau of Extension.

Toast to the Flag

By John Daly, of Kansas

Here's to the red of it;
There's not a thread of it,
No, not a shred of it,
In all the spread of it,
    From foot to head,
But heroes died for it,
Faced steel and lead for it,
Precious blood shed for it,
    Bathing it red.

Here's to the white of it;
Thrilled by the sight of it,
Who knows the right of it
But has felt the might of it
    Through day and night;
Womanhood's care for it
Made manhood dare for it,
Purity's prayer for it
    Kept it so white.

Here's to the blue of it;
Heavenly hue of it,
Star-Spangled view of it,
Honesty's due of it,
    Constant and true:
Here's to the soul of it,
Stars, Stripes and pole of it,
Here's to the soul of it,
    Red, white and blue.

NATIONAL DOGMA

In these days when we are all thinking of ways and means by which we may do our part in the Americanization program we are all looking for a solid foundation upon which to build the civic structure. Many of us have been looking for a clear, concise statement of American doctrine. Everyone has been asking just what is the basis of our civic faith. What are the principles of Americanism? In what does or should the American citizen believe?

Various statements of our political faith have been made but none seems to us quite so complete, quite so exact, quite so resonant with Americanism as the statement by William Tyler Page. We print it herewith that others may study it, learn it, enjoy it as we have.

The American's Creed

"I believe in the United States of America as a government of the people, by the people, for the people; whose just powers are derived from the consent of the governed; a democracy in a republic; a sovereign nation of many sovereign states; a perfect union one and inseparable; established upon those principles of freedom, equality, justice, and humanity, for which American patriots sacrificed their lives and fortunes.

"I therefore believe it is my duty to my country to love it; to support its constitution; to obey its laws; to respect its flag; and to defend it against all enemies."

Sources of the Creed

The doctrinal origin, sentence by sentence, of the above statement of political faith can be found in the *Congressional Record,* No. 102, April 13, 1919. It is given below.

"The United States of America."—Preamble Constitution of the United States.

"A government of the people, by the people, for the people." Preamble Constitution of the United States; Daniel Webster's speech in the Senate, January 26, 1830; Abraham's Lincoln's Gettysburg speech.

"Whose just powers are derived from the consent of the governed."—Thomas Jefferson, in Declaration of Independence.

"A democracy in a republic."—James Madison, in The Federalist, No. 10; Article X of the Amendments to Constitution.

"A perfect Union."—Preamble to the Constitution. "One and inseparable."—Webster's speech in the Senate, January 26, 1830.

"Established upon those principles of freedom, equality, justice, and humanity for which American patriots sacrificed their lives and fortunes."—Declaration of Independence.

"I therefore believe it is my duty to my country to love it."—Edward Everett Hale's "The Man Without a Country."

"To support its Constitution."—Oath of Allegiance, Section 1757, Revised Statutes of the United States.

"To obey its laws."—Washington's Farewell Address; Article VI, Constitution of the United States.

"To Respect Its Flag."—National Anthem, The Star-Spangled Banner; Army and Navy Regulations; War Department circular on Flag Etiquette, April 14, 1917.

"And defend it against all enemies."—Oath of Allegiance, Section 1757, Revised Statutes of the United States.

Story of the Creed

The American's Creed to which the City of Baltimore gave a prize of one thousand dollars was made public April 2, 1918. Its selection was the result of a National Citizen's Creed contest which came about in this way:

How It Began

The idea of laying special emphasis upon the duties and obligations of citizenship in the form of a national creed originated with Henry S. Chapin. In 1916-1917 a contest, open to all Americans, was inaugurated in the press throughout the country to secure "the best summary of the political faith of America." The contest was informally approved by the President of the United States. The City of Baltimore, as the birthplace of the Star-Spangled Banner, offered a prize of $1,000, which was accepted, and the following committees were appointed: A committee on manuscripts, consisting of Porter Emerson Browne and representatives from leading American magazines, with head-

quarters in New York City; a committee on award, consisting of Matthew Page Andrews, Irvin S. Cobb, Hamlin Garland, Ellen Glasgow, Julian Street, Booth Tarkington, and Charles Hanson Towne; and an advisory committee, consisting of Dr. P. P. Claxton, United States Commissioner of Education, Governors of States, United States Senators, and other national and state officials.

The Winner

The winner of the contest and the author of the creed selected proved to be William Tyler Page of Friendship Heights, Maryland, a descendant of President Tyler and also of Carter Braxton, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

OUR FLAG

Right now our flag is more in evidence than ever before in the history of the nation. This beautiful symbol of our national ideals has much of inherent interest and tradition woven into its very folds with the facts of which every man and woman, boy and girl should be familiar.

Its Age and Meaning

Our American flag is the third oldest national flag in the world. It is a symbol of liberty; political, social, industrial, religious, educational liberty, and signifies obedience to law.

It contains thirteen stripes, alternate red and white, to represent the thirteen original states from which our Union was formed. These states are: New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryand, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia.

Each of the 48 white stars in the blue field designates a state in our present Union. The arrangement of the stars is regulated by an executive order issued in 1912 which provides for forty-eight stars to be arranged in six horizontal rows of eight stars each.

Its Names

To this emblem of our national ideals and aspirations four different names have been attached by popular usage: Old Glory, The Stars and Stripes, The Star Spangled Banner, and The Red White and Blue.

Old Glory Dates

Through many years Old Glory has been having all kinds of experiences; in war and in peace, in successes and in reverses, in rejoicings and in mournings. The story of her life can be told here in only a brief, disconnected, and sketchy manner, but even so the touches of romance will appear. The red letter days in her life and the reason for them during her first century of life are given below.

January 1-2, 1776. Grand Union Flag (British Union and Thirteen Stripes) over Washington's headquarters at Cambridge, Mass. This was the first real flag of the Colonies.

February 8, 1776, Colonial Congressional Committee accepted a naval flag, consisting of thirteen stripes, alternate red and white, with a rattlesnake diagonally across the face of it.

March 17, 1776. The first display of the Grand Union flag in Boston, on the day that town was evacuated by the British.

November 16, 1776. First foreign salute to an American flag. This was to the Grand Union flag, and was given by the Dutch governor, DeGraaf, at the island of St. Eustatius to the brig, Andrea Doria, commanded by Captain Robinson.

June 14, 1777. First strictly American flag decreed by Congress. This flag displaced the British Union by thirteen stars, and the first flag of this design was made by Betsy Ross, at her home in Philadelphia. It contained thirteen stripes, alternate red and white, and thirteen white stars upon a blue field.

June 14, 1777. Captain John Paul Jones appointed to the command of the Ranger. It was Jones who first displayed the Stars and Stripes on a naval vessel. It was also he who had previously first hoisted the flag of America on board the naval vessel Alfred in 1775.

August 3, 1777. First display of the Stars and Stripes was over Fort Stanwix, N. J.

September 11, 1777. The American flag first carried in battle at the Brandywine. This was the first great battle fought after its adoption by the Continental Congress.

January 28, 1778. First appearance on a foreign stronghold at Nassau, Bahama Islands. The Americans captured Fort Nassau from the British, and promptly raised the "Stars and Stripes."

February 14, 1778. First foreign salute to the "Stars and Stripes." John Paul Jones entered Quiberon Bay, near Brest, France, and received a salute of nine guns from the French fleet, under Admiral La Motte Piquet. Jones had previously saluted the French fleet with thirteen guns.

April 24, 1778. John Paul Jones in the Ranger achieved the honor of being the first officer of the American Navy to compel a regular British man-of-war, H. B. M. S. Drake, to strike her colors to the new flag.

February 3, 1783. First appearance of the American flag in

a British port by the ship Bedford of Massachusetts, which arrived in the river Thames, England, on this date.

September 13, 1784. First displayed in China, by Captain John Greene of the Empress of China, in Canton River. The natives said it was as a flower, and the Chinese continued to call it the "flower flag" for many years.

September 30, 1787—August 10, 1790. The American flag completed its first trip around the world, borne by the ship Columbia, sailing from Boston.

January 13, 1794. American flag changed by Act of Congress, owing to new states (Kentucky and Vermont) being admitted to the Union. The flag now had two stars and two stripes added to it, making fifteen stripes and stars. This was the "Star Spangled Banner," and under this flag our country fought and won three wars to maintain her existence, the so-called naval war with France in 1798; that with the Barbary States in 1801-5; and that with England in 1812-15.

January 26, 1813. U. S. Frigate Essex, first warship to fly the American flag in the Pacific, after rounding Cape Horn. The Essex destroyed British commerce in the Pacific to the amount of six millions of dollars. Built at Salem, Mass., and launched September 30, 1799.

April 4, 1818. Congress by Act, decreed a return to the original stripes, and a star for every state in the Union, the new star to be added to the flag on the July 4 following the state's admission to the Union. This is the present law in relation to the flag.

August 24, 1824. The "Stars and Stripes" were raised for the first time over the cupola of the Massachusetts State House on Beacon Hill on the occasion of the visit of Lafayette to Boston.

August 10, 1831. The name "Old Glory" given to our national flag by Captain William Driver of the brig Charles Doggett. The flag was presented to the captain, and contained 110 yards of bunting. It is now said to be in the Essex Institute at Salem.

October 8, 1867. First official display of the American flag in Alaska. On this day at Sitka, the capital, the Russian flag was hauled down and the American flag run up before the barracks and in the presence of both Russian and American troops.

Flag Etiquette

It is an American and especially a Southern habit to be courteous, respectful, reverential in the presence of age and honorable service. Our flag is as old as our nation, as honorable as the sons who have fought and died in defense of American principles, yet we fail to wofully to pay that respectful, reverential courtesy to our flag which is her due. That we may all know to the end that we may practice flag-etiquette the following official rulings are presented.

The Code

The flag should never be placed below a person sitting.

The field of the flag is the stripes; the union is the blue and the stars.

When the flag becomes old or soiled from use it should be decently burned.

When two American flags are crossed the blue fields should face each other.

In decorating, the flag should never be festooned or draped; always hung flat.

The statutes of the United States forbid the use of the flag in registered trade-marks.

As an altar covering, the field should be at the right as you face the altar, and nothing be placed upon the flag except the Bible.

The American flag, the emblem of our country, is the third oldest national flag in the world, It represents liberty, and liberty means obedience to law.

When the flag is displayed from a staff the blue field should be in the upper corner next to the staff.

From private poles the flag may fly at all hours, day and night, with due respect to the colors.

In crossing the American flag with that of another nation the American colors should be at the right.

When the flag is passing in parade, in review, or is being raised or lowered, the spectators should—if walking, halt; if sitting, arise, uncover, and stand at attention.

When carried in parade or when crossed with other flags the Stars and Stripes should always be at the right.

The flag should never be worn as the whole or part of a costume. As a badge it should be worn over the left breast.

There are three standard sizes for the flag provided by the War Department regulations: Garrison flag, 20 x 38 feet; post flag 10 x 19 feet; Storm flag, 5 x 9½ feet.

In handling the flag it should not be allowed to touch the ground, and never allowed to lie upon the ground as a means of decoration—nor should it be laid flat with anything upon it.

If you hang the flag from a window it should be suspended by the same edge which is ordinarily attached to the pole, and if two flags are hung together the cantons should be placed together. If the flag is draped across the street the blue canton should be up.

In draping the flag against the side of a room or building the proper position for the blue field is toward the north or the east.

When the flag is used in unveiling a statue or monument it should not be allowed to fall to the ground, but should be carried aloft to wave out, forming a distinctive feature during the remainder of the ceremony.

Always stand when the Star-Spangled Banner is being played or sung, and protest when it is used in a medley.

The flag contains thirteen stripes, alternate red and white, representing the thirteen original states, and a star for each state in the union.

When the flag is shown horizontally the blue field should be at the upper left hand corner to the observer; when vertically the blue should be at the upper right corner; when in either position the flag should be fastened only at the top.

When the flag is flown at half staff as a sign of mourning it should be hoisted to full staff at the conclusion of the funeral; in placing the flag at half staff it should first be hoisted to the top of the staff and then lowered to position.

Whenever our flag and any other are hoisted on the same staff, the Star Spangled Banner must float from the top. In the heart of every American citizen the American flag must have the first and highest place—must be supreme.

Salute the Flag

Perhaps it is superflous to call attention to the fact that hundreds of thousands of school children all over the country daily repeat the pledge of allegiance to the flag while standing at salute.

We have visited many schools in this state during the past six years and have yet to see the children salute the flag or repeat the oath of allegiance. It is only natural to infer that the custom is at least not common in this state.

We Suggest

Would it not be well if we all adopt the national custom that the children of our state may not be peculiar? We love the flag and we cherish it as much and as well as other citizens. We are as ready to defend it as any other people. Let us teach our children the form as well as the spirit of allegiance.

The Form

With the Stars and Stripes properly suspended in the front of the room the pupils all rise, the teacher leading, and face the flag. The right hand, palm down is brought to the forehead in salute and kept there while all repeat:

> I pledge allegiance to my flag and to the Republic for which it stands: one Nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

The hand is then brought sharply down to the side and the pupils are seated. Try it in your school.

THIS IS NOT ENOUGH

But we have only begun when we have our articles of faith, our doctrine and our ritual or form of allegiance. It is not enough that we know and act true to established form and custom, we must *feel* right. To repeat the creed, to salute the flag, to observe the anniversaries of Old Glory is but empty form and meaningless chatter if we do not feel right toward our flag and the great ideals for which it stands. To doff our hats as the flag goes by and then to go on our way ignoring improper sanitation, insufficient safeguards for machines, exploitations of children in industries and neglect of proper enforcement of our laws is to be guilty not only of disrespect to the flag but also of high treason to our country.

We must have a conception of our flag and its meaning, of our nation and its purpose more nearly approximating the ideas set forth by Secretary of the Interior, Hon. Franklin K. Lane.

Makers of the Flag

This morning as I passed into the Land Office, the Flag dropped me a most cordial salutation, and from its rippling folds I heard it say: "Good morning, Mr. Flag Maker."

"I beg your pardon, Old Glory," I said; "aren't you mistaken? I am not the President of the United States, nor a member of Congress nor even a general in the army. I am only a Government clerk."

"I greet you again, Mr. Flag Maker," replied the gay voice; "I know you well. You are the man who worked in the swelter of yesterday straightening out the tangle of that farmer's homestead in Idaho, or perhaps you found the mistake in the Indian contract in Oklahoma, or helped to clear that patent for the hopeful inventor in New York, or pushed the opening of that new ditch in Colorado, or made that mine in Illinois more safe, or brought relief to the old soldier in Wyoming. No matter; whichever one of these beneficent individuals you may happen to be, I give you greeting, Mr. Flag Maker."

I was about to pass on, when the Flag stopped me with these words:

"Yesterday the President spoke a word that made happier the future of ten million peons in Mexico; but that act looms no larger on the flag than the struggle which the boy in Georgia is making to win the Corn Club prize this summer.

"Yesterday the Congress spoke a word which will open the door of Alaska; but a mother in Michigan worked from sunrise until far into the night, to give her boy an education. She, too, is making the flag.

"Yesterday we made a new law to prevent financial panics, and yesterday, maybe, a school teacher in Ohio taught his first letters to a boy who will one day write a song that will give cheer to the millions of our race. We are all making the flag."

"But," I said impatiently, "these people were only working!" Then came a great shout from the Flag:

"The work that we do is the making of the flag.

"I am not the flag; not all. I am nothing more than its shadow.

"I am whatever you make me, nothing more.

"I am your belief in yourself, your dream of what a People may become.

"I live a changing life, a life of moods and passions, of heartbreaks and tired muscles.

"Sometimes I am strong with pride, when workmen do an honest piece of work, fitting rails together truly.

"Sometimes I droop, for then purpose has gone from me, and cynically I play the coward.

"Sometimes I am loud, garish, and full of that ego that blasts judgment.

"But always, I am all that you hope to be, and have the courage to try for.

"I am song and fear, struggle and panic, and ennobling hope.

"I am the day's work of the weakest man, and the largest dream of the most daring.

"I am the Constitution and the courts, statutes and the statute makers, soldier and dreadnaught, drayman and street sweep, cook, counselor, and clerk.

"I am the battle of yesterday, and the mistake of tomorrow.

"I am the mystery of the men who do without knowing why.

"I am the clutch of an idea, and the reasoned purpose of resolution.

"I am no more than what you believe me to be, and I am all that you believe I can be.

"I am what you make me, nothing more.

"I swing before your eyes as a bright gleam of color, a symbol of yourself, the pictured suggestion of that big thing which makes this nation. My stars and my stripes are your dream and your labors. They are bright with cheer, brilliant with courage, firm with faith, because you have made them so out of your hearts. For you are the makers of the flag and it is well that you glory in the making."